

China
and the
People's Democratic
Republic of Yemen

China and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen

A Report

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To my father and brothers

Introduction

It is worth noting how Chinese sources reported the official PDRY delegation's visit in their official coverage. Formal diplomatic relations were established on 31 January 1968 between the People's Republic of China and the newly founded state of the People's Republic of Southern Yemen (referred to here as the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen – PDRY) at a ceremony in Cairo attended by Muhammad Hadi 'Awad, plenipotentiary of the government of the PDRY, and the only high-ranking ambassador from the People's Republic of China outside the country, Huang Hua, since all others were recalled during the Cultural Revolution. During the Cultural Revolution, Huang Hua was reputed to be the most senior member of the Chinese diplomatic service. A student activist in the 1930s and subsequently an interpreter for the Chinese Communist Party in charge of the English-speaking section, he had been a close associate of Chou En-Lai since the Geneva Conference of April 1954 and the Bandung Conference in April 1955. In August 1960 he received his first post as the PRC's first ambassador to Ghana, where he made several diplomatic breakthroughs for China among the African nations, especially in what was then called Tanganyika, in December 1961, Congo (Brazzaville), in February 1964, and Dahomey, in November 1964. He was also in charge of signing trade, diplomatic, technical and friendship treaties and agreements. In March 1966, he was appointed as ambassador to the United Arab Republic (Egypt), thus assuming charge of the PRC's most important diplomatic post, both in the Arab world and in Africa. He was the only Chinese

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ambassador who remained in his post during the upheavals of the Cultural Revolution. He was stationed in Cairo until becoming the first Chinese ambassador to the United Nations in October 1971.

The press communiqué mentioned, *inter alia*, that:

The Government of the People's Republic of China has recognized the People's Republic of Southern Yemen and the latter's sovereignty over all *its territories and islands*. The Government of the People's Republic of Southern Yemen recognized the Government of the People's Republic of China *as the sole legal Government representing all the Chinese people*.¹ [Italics added]

In the midst of the Cultural Revolution and at a time when China had recalled all its ambassadors, save for the prominent figure of Huang Hua stationed in Cairo, the establishment of formal diplomatic relations was certainly a breakthrough, particularly on the issue of recognizing the PRC as the sole legal government representing all the Chinese people. Moreover, the newly established state of the PDRY came about after less than a year had passed since the Arab-Israeli Six-Day War of June 1967.

People's Daily carried an editorial² which devoted most attention to the 'general' Arab situation whereby Arab 'anti-imperialism' is considered to be one of the most important factors for 'uniting the destiny of the Chinese and Arab peoples', with particular attention given to the struggle of the Palestinian people. Moreover, the editorial stressed that the 'anti-imperialist' trend in the Arab world, carried by the Arab people rather than the Arab governments, was directed against 'U.S. imperialism.' Thus, nothing was mentioned about 'Soviet revisionists – imperialists', which seems peculiar since Chinese anti-USSR sentiments were given high priority during the Cultural Revolution.

Eight months after establishing diplomatic relations, on 17 September 1968, an official high-ranking PDRY delegation arrived in Peking. Before dealing with the main text, we will concentrate here on Chinese press commentaries and official statements made during the visit. It is noteworthy in this connection that the late Faysal 'Abd al-latif noted down what the Chinese had expressed in opinions rather than what the delegation members had to say in analysing various conditions prevailing in the Arabian Peninsula and the Gulf.

Upon the arrival of the delegation, the mood of the receptions was 'typical' of circumstances during the Cultural Revolution. The delegation was headed by the late Foreign Minister, Saif Ahmad al-'Dal'i, and was received in Peking, after a stopover in Shanghai, by:

Vice-Premier Ch'en Yi and more than one thousand revolutionary people . . . [and] among the welcomers were representatives of the Capital's Workers' Mao Tse-Tung's Thought Propaganda Teams, leading members of revolutionary mass organisations and representatives of 'Five-Good' Fighters from the Chinese People's Liberation Army Units stationed in Peking. . . . Present at the airport were leading members of the Government departments concerned, the People's Liberation Army and the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee, including Wang Hsin-ting, Chiao Kuan-hua, Li Chian, Hsieh Huai-teh and Hsiang Chien.³

Of the receiving officials and government departments represented, Marshal Ch'en Yi deserves a brief mention, which will throw some light on his career. (Chiao Kuan-hua was later appointed as China's ambassador to the United Nations, a post he held after Huang Hua's tenure there.)

Ch'en Yi, educated in France, where he was a student activist, returned to China to continue his activities after joining the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). He then studied military science at the then famous Whampoa Military Academy. After the Red Army was created in 1927, Ch'en Yi assumed a post as one of its top commanders. In the 1930s he was known to be a close associate of Mao Tse-Tung and Chou En-lai, and by 1941 he had become the acting commander of the New Fourth Army. After 1949, he held several prominent posts, the most important being that of the Mayor of Shanghai. In 1952 he attended the Nineteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in Moscow with Liu Shao; it was the last Congress held during Stalin's lifetime. Beginning in 1961, he accompanied Chou En-lai in representing China abroad, especially in Southeast Asia and the Middle East, which put him in the position of signing numerous agreements and treaties on China's behalf. He also shared with Chou En-lai the chairmanship of the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs in 1964. When the Cultural Revolution erupted, Ch'en Yi was

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known to be a close ally of Chou En-lai, and remained a voice of moderation throughout the turmoil of events. When the radical elements of the Cultural Revolution besieged the Foreign Ministry for a week in August 1967, the Minister, Marshal Ch'en Yi, was forced to indulge in 'self-criticism' for leading a 'revisionist' policy. It was amid such tumult that Marshal Ch'en Yi received the PDRY delegation.

On 18 September 1968 both sides – the PDRY and Ch'en Yi – held talks 'in a friendly atmosphere'⁴ and, at a banquet honouring the visiting delegation, Ch'en Yi unleashed attacks reflecting China's foreign policy priorities, with regard to which the PDRY delegation was at no time willing to take sides. He went on to state China's three main policy objectives:

Our South Yemeni friends may rest assured that in their struggle against imperialism, colonialism, and neo-colonialism, the Chinese people will remain forever their reliable friends . . . U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism are mortally afraid of the revolutionary storms of the people of the world. They collude and fight each other in a vain attempt to re-divide the world and their spheres of influence and thus control the world situation and practise neo-colonialism. During the Caribbean crisis, Soviet revisionism first followed a policy of adventurism and then a policy of capitulationism towards U.S. imperialism and actually recognized Cuba as within the latter's sphere of influence. While feigning support Soviet revisionism is actually betraying the Vietnamese people in their war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation and helping U.S. imperialism to perpetuate the forcible occupation of Southern Vietnam. Likewise in the Middle East war last year [1967], Soviet revisionism, while feigning support, is actually trying to control the Arab people and helping U.S.-Israeli aggression. In Africa, Soviet revisionism, in league with U.S. and British imperialism, is even openly supporting the military Government of Federal Nigeria in massacring the Biafran people in a vain attempt to squeeze into Nigeria and enjoy an equal share with imperialism there. . . . The Soviet revisionists' aggression against Czechoslovakia has strengthened the position of U.S. imperialism and Israel, its tool for aggression in the Middle East, and inflated the aggressive arrogance and expansionist

ambitions of Zionism. . . . Zionism is an extremely reactionary trend of thought which we resolutely oppose. We firmly support the Arab people in their just struggle against aggression by U.S. imperialism and Israel. We firmly oppose the Soviet revisionist renegade clique's criminal schemes of selling out the interests of the Arab people.⁵

He then went on to shed some light on the importance of Mao's Thought in building socialism in China. All of this appeared to the delegation as a form of lecturing that under no circumstances could be adopted and/or adhered to by the leaders of the PDRY. For example, to embark on a crusade of anti-Sovietism would certainly be an impediment for building socialism in the newly established state. The only point of agreement was the question of Zionism as a body of political thought with its manifestation, Israel; but no consensus could even be reached with regard to 'Soviet-revisionist' designs in the Arab-Israeli conflict.

In replying, Foreign Minister Saif Ahmad al-'Dal'i. pointed out three major foreign policy priorities of the PDRY, thus taking a position of disagreement with Ch'en Yi's approach to handling international and national causes:

The subversive attempts against the People's Republic of Southern Yemen . . . are linked with the constant subversion by imperialism and the Saudi reactionaries against our Northern Yemen. . . . We, progressive revolutionaries of the whole world, should all the more clench our fists in the face of imperialism and colonialism. Otherwise, we would leave openings in our ranks which imperialism might use to preserve its strength and carry out conspiracies' . . . [and he] expressed Southern Yemen's support for the people of Oman, Dhofar and the Arab Gulf in their struggle against British occupation.⁶

The Chinese could hardly agree with this approach – a reproof to disunity within the socialist camp – in the midst of the Cultural Revolution. Moreover, what is noteworthy about Ch'en Yi's speech is the total omission of China's support, at this particular date, for what was later to be named the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman,⁷ and likewise the Chinese spokesman's failure to attack the 'reactionary' regimes, i.e., Saudi Arabia, in the Arabian Peninsula

and the Gulf. This aspect, Saudi Arabia's presence and role, was to be discussed privately. The situation in Oman, however, warrants a few notes.

China's attitudes to and involvement in Oman went through two distinct phases up to 1968. On the one hand, it was characterized by support for 'traditional' forces in Omani traditional disputes. The year 1955 witnessed the rise of a nationalist movement in Muscat and Oman, which was governed by the corrupt and backward rule of the late Sultan Sa'id bin Taimur. He was challenged in 1954 by the newly elected Imam of Oman, Ghalib bin 'Alī. The Sultan's rule at the time was based largely on the consent of tribal allegiances; a modern state was not yet fully established. Moreover, the rule of the Sultan and his family's continued existence depended to a large extent on the presence of military 'advisers' throughout the various branches of the military apparatus. It was the scramble for oil and the unruly tribes of the Omani interior that prompted the Sultan to embark on a military expedition. The Imam, in return, sought the assistance of Egypt's Nasser on the one hand, and of the leadership of Saudi Arabia, on the other; the two were diametrically opposed to each other. By the mid-1960s the movement had dwindled, and the initiation of a more 'leftist' orientation commenced.

China's first direct contacts in the Omani war came through the unfolding of events in the Sultanate, and was basically mediated through Egypt. It was a period which witnessed China's championing of the Imamate cause against both the Sultan and the British. Through the Imamate Office in Cairo, and close contacts with the states of the Bandung Conference, the Deputy Imam, Salih bin 'Isa, received an invitation from the Chinese Islamic Association (CIA) to pay an official visit to China. It is interesting that the invitation came from the Association, but not from other organs or from the various existing 'friendship' associations. Most probably, as the document below attests, the Chinese thought that Islam was a sphere which must be exploited by the nationalists, and that it was thus appropriate to open a channel through the Chinese Islamic Association. Moreover, at this time China was advocating that the Arab people, including the Omanis, must rely in their struggle against imperialism, on 'the world forces of peace led by the Soviet Union'. Chinese support for the Imamate cause was basically political; no military aid was extended.

The second phase witnessed the gradual radicalization of the

nationalist movement in Oman. When later developments created the Dhofar Liberation Front (DLF), China remained supportive of the nationalist cause, and pronouncements and reportage on the Chinese side came through their Cairo offices. Yet, when the movement adopted Marxism-Leninism, in September, 1968, under the new name of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Occupied Oman, China was remarkably silent for a short period with respect to the internal developments in Oman.

It was within the context of this atmosphere that the PDRY delegation continued its visit to China. However, the audience on the Chinese side present at the banquet reflected the general political trend prevailing during the upheavals of the Cultural Revolution. They included:

representatives of the Capital's Workers' Mao Tse-tung Thought Propaganda Teams, leading members of revolutionary organizations and representatives of 'Five-Good' Fighters from Chinese People's Liberation Army units stationed in Peking. Leading members of Government departments concerned, the People's Liberation Army, the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee and other departments concerned, including Wang Hsien-ting, Chiao Kuan-hua, Li Chiang, Hsieh Huai-teh, Hsi Chin and Ting Hsi-lin were also present.

Diplomatic envoys of Arab and African countries in Peking attended the banquet.⁸

Chinese reporting on the PDRY became more frequent. In a separate dispatch *NCNA* reported,⁹ from Aden, that both official PDRY periodicals, *al-Thauri* and *October Fourteenth*, commented on the delegation's visit to China. The former stated, according to *NCNA* that the visit 'is being conducted under the circumstances of the continuous expression of the world revolutionary movement and the solidarity of the oppressed peoples . . . [and] the great Chinese today have become the revolutionaries of the oppressed people in the fight against imperialism, a living model for people longing for the finest society of socialism.' Likewise *October Fourteenth* was quoted as putting forward two main points, it stated that:

Great China, with its rich experience of revolution has enriched progressive thinking and influenced the idea of world

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revolution . . . [and] that the revolution of Southern Yemen is part of the world revolutionary movement. Like the revolutions in other areas of the world, it is directed against imperialism headed by the United States and all reactionaries.¹⁰

Such a statement by the official PDRY media warrants two notes of cautious commentary. On the one hand, the media totally neglected the oft-heard Chinese claim of 'Soviet socialist imperialism and revisionism,' but rather viewed the struggle as one aimed against imperialism. On the other hand, the young PDRY leadership was to learn from the Chinese experience in building socialism within a nation but not necessarily in building a socialist foreign policy aligned to one state or another within the socialist bloc. In treating socialism within, the PDRY leadership had a tremendous task facing its existence and an abundance of experience before it on which to draw – various types of experience ranging from that of Yugoslavia to those of the USSR, Korea, China, Cuba, and so forth – all marginally different from the experiences of the PDRY and the politics of the Arabian Peninsula and the Gulf. Moreover, for a young and newly established socialist state, surrounded by hostile forces, to embark on a foreign policy allied to either the Soviet Union or China would certainly limit its ability in building socialism within. Thus, throughout its foreign policy, the PDRY set a course of steering a balanced and independent course within the socialist bloc.

The delegation's itinerary, in Peking, included a visit to a Peoples Liberation Army (PLA) unit, and there they were told:

how it [the PLA] had grown up from a small guerrilla team by adhering to the Great Leader Chairman Mao's theory of army building. Some of the Unit's activists in study reported on their experience in the living study and application of Chairman Mao's work.¹¹

On 21 September 1968 Arab diplomatic envoys gave a reception in the delegation's honour,¹² which the PDRY delegation reciprocated,¹³ and on the same day the President of the PDRY, Qahtan al-Sha'bī, sent a message of greeting to Mao in which he stated:

I take this opportunity to express to Your Excellency, on

behalf of the People of Southern Yemen and in my own name, our profound appreciation of your heroic struggle against colonialism, imperialism and their lackeys, and of the great achievements accomplished by the people of China under your daring and wise leadership.¹⁴

However, there is a discrepancy in dates between Faysal 'Abd al-latîf's diary and the official Chinese sources as to the exact date on which the meeting between Chou En-lai and the delegation took place. Faysal notes the date as 23 September, whereas *NCNA* gives the date as 24 September. The Chinese date is more accurate, as the text of the joint communiqué issued at the end of the visit attests:

At the invitation of the Government of the People's Republic of China, a delegation of the People's Republic of Southern Yemen led by Foreign Minister Saif Aḥmad al-Dal'î paid a goodwill visit to the People's Republic of China from September 17 to 24, 1968.¹⁵

And on the last day of the official visit, the delegation signed a Trade Agreement and an Agreement on Economic and Technical Co-operation¹⁶ between the two states in the presence of Chou En-lai and Foreign Minister Ch'en Yi, representing the PRC, while the PDRY was represented by the Foreign Minister and the following members of the delegation: Faysal 'Abd al-latîf al Sha'bî, 'Alî 'Aḥmad 'Antar, Şaleḥ Muḥammad Wheishî, Nadîm Hussain 'Alî, and Muḥammad Mahdî.¹⁷ What is remarkable about this agreement is its timing, not to mention its content. It is one of the few occasions on which the Chinese leadership involved itself in an agreement with a foreign state in the midst of the Cultural Revolution. There seem to be several reasons for this. In the first place, Chou En-lai and his 'moderate' colleagues had a firm grip on the state apparatus, i.e., the administrative hierarchy, especially the Foreign Ministry, in comparison with the radical elements involved in internal upheavals. Second, the leadership of the new state (PDRY) was embarking on the establishment of a radical-socialist state in the heart of the Arab world. Aid from various socialist states was a necessity. Third, though China had established diplomatic relations with the Republic of Yemen (North Yemen) at an earlier time, the period of the monarchy, the strategic importance

of the PDRY could not be neglected. Fourth, aid to the PDRY would be a significant area for competition with the USSR. Last, the establishment of diplomatic relations with both Yemens certainly represented an opening for China, not only in the Arabian Peninsula, where Saudi Arabia was the most important entity, but also in the Arabian Gulf. China had no diplomatic breakthrough until 1971, when relations were established with Kuwait.

On 24 September 1968, the delegation returned to Aden where the Foreign Minister, Saif Ahmad al-Dal'i, declared that:

Through our visits to Chinese workers, peasants and soldiers, we saw the great achievement of the Chinese Cultural Revolution. We learned a lot during our visit to China.¹⁸

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From the Minutes of the Meetings of the Delegation of The People's Republic Of South Yemen in Peking, September 1968

An official delegation from the People's Republic of South Yemen visited the People's Republic of China. Led by Saif al-Dal'i, the delegation included as members Faysal 'Abd al-latif, 'Ali 'Antar and three others. The visit, which began on 16 September 1968 and lasted until 24 September 1968, was in response to an official invitation sent by the People's Republic of China to the Arab republic, before a full year had passed since its independence.

The following account comprises the texts recorded by a member of the delegation, Faysal 'Abd al-latif, in his journal, immediately after each meeting of the delegation in Peking and in other parts of China which the delegation visited.

The First Session – 18 September 1968

The first session began on 18 September 1968 and was attended on the Chinese side by the Deputy Foreign Minister, the Deputy Chief of the General Staff, the Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade, the Vice-President of the Committee on Economic Relations with

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Foreign Nations, the Deputy Head of the Department of External Relations, and the Deputy Head of the Department of Protocol in the Foreign Ministry.

The Yemeni delegation consisted of six members, under the chairmanship of Saif Al-'Dal'i.

Saif presented the major points which the delegation hoped to discuss, which were:

1. Political, social and economic conditions and problems in Yemen.
2. The National Front and its experience of struggle in the liberation and independence of Yemen.
3. Conditions in the Arab region, and in particular the questions of Yemeni unity and Arab unity.
4. The Palestine issue.
5. The international situation.
6. Familiarization with the Chinese revolutionary experience.

The Deputy Foreign Minister of China then presented the principal topics from the Chinese side, which were:

1. Support for South Yemen.
2. Backing for the Arab states in their war against imperialism and Zionism.
3. The experience of China and the Cultural Revolution.
4. Present-day revisionism.

The Deputy stressed the fact that the views of the People's Republic of China are its own, which are not binding on anyone else in any way.

The session was terminated because the pre-arranged programme for the visit included a tour of the city – its streets, an inspection of the markets, and some aspects of daily activity in them. During this tour, the Yemeni members came to understand that studies in China had been suspended for a period of two years on account of the Cultural Revolution and its victory.

In the evening, a dinner party was held for the Yemeni delegation. Words of welcome were given by the Deputy Premier and Foreign Minister, Marshal Ch'en Yi. In his speech he attacked contemporary revisionism and pointed to the Palestinian resistance. He spoke of the Russian campaign against China and recalled that,

in the days of Stalin, Russia wanted to help China and co-operate with it, but since the Twentieth Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, Khrushchev had begun to follow a different policy, aiming to subjugate China to Soviet influence and to prevent it from becoming a major power. So he resorted to withdrawing the Soviet experts who had been working in China and discontinued the Soviet loans which were to be repaid in commodities. A stage of aggravation and harassment began with China's settlement of these debts. Ch'en Yi related examples of this sort of harassment, such as the problems encountered with oranges, pigs, and so on.

The Second Session – 19 September 1968

Discussion centred on the two agenda proposals, and it was agreed that the following topics be examined and discussed:

1. Diplomatic relations.
2. Financial aid and loans.
3. Projects.
4. Commodity aid.
5. Military aid.
6. Cultural and educational assistance.
7. Technical aid.

Concerning the topic of diplomatic relations and the reason behind the delay in opening an embassy for the People's Republic of China in Aden, the Chinese Deputy Foreign Minister spoke on the Cultural Revolution and the necessity of re-educating all cadres, including the members of the diplomatic corps, and said that all ambassadors of China were in the country at present in order to participate in the Cultural Revolution. He noted that they numbered forty-one ambassadors, not including the Chinese ambassador to Egypt, Huang Hua. He indicated that the opening of the embassy might be delayed until the start of the new year, but it might be possible to despatch a chargé d'affaires in November or December.

On financial aid and loans, Saif requested the sum of £15,000,000 in order that Yemen might be able to face its numerous problems. Saif enumerated the projects which are under

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consideration for construction in Yemen, mentioning roads, land reclamation, wells, development of the salt industry, electricity in rural areas, and the building and equipping of schools and hospitals in rural areas.

The Chinese delegation replied that in principle they would accede to the economic requests but that the details would be discussed subsequently.

The second session was thus concluded.

Visit to a Factory – 19 September 1968

In the afternoon the programme included a visit to an underwear factory in Peking.

One of the members of the Chinese delegation expounded the Great Cultural Revolution, saying that it was a great political revolution for the proletariat in its struggle against the bourgeoisie and all of the exploitative classes.

There had been some trouble in January 1967, and disagreements among the revolutionary workers. But Comrade Mao dispatched one of the comrades from the army cadres, confirming that the task of the army is to support the force of the left.

On 26 July 1967 the army had helped the workers to study the Thought of Mao and the necessity of identifying friends and enemies. The army helped the workers of the factory to set in motion a campaign of criticism against Khrushchevism. In this manner, the consciousness of the workers was raised.

A revolutionary council for the factory was established on 12 November 1967, after which the workers put into effect the principles of 'self-reliance' and 'putting out optimum effort' a method adopted by the Party and the people during the Cultural Revolution.

The Cultural Revolution was set in motion in twenty-nine provinces, that is, all provinces with the exception of Taiwan.

Then the Yemeni delegation visited a large room in the factory where the Thought of Mao is studied before and after work. They also paid a visit to the nursery, where the children go to sleep with portraits of Mao above their heads.

The members of the revolutionary council in the factory are proud of the fact that there is not one illiterate worker in their

factory, and that the lowest level of workers there have finished elementary education, while others have completed intermediate and secondary education. As regards the political standard (Marxist-Leninist thought), they are more advanced than university students. The council members mentioned also that party members total 15–20 per cent of all the workers in the factory; party membership, however, yields no advantage; rather, all are treated equally. In fact the party member is required to be a living example and a model of perfection among the workers – he is the last to enjoy any privilege and the first to take on duties and face hardships.

They also pointed to the fact that there is very little difference between workers, officials, and cadres, and sometimes the salaries of the workers are the highest. The important element always is the political obligation: raising the red flags, knowing the Thought of Mao and following and implementing his teachings. They also confirmed that all of the workers have received military training.

Then one of the members of the revolutionary council in the factory spoke on Khrushchevism and the danger it poses to the revolution. He stressed that those who follow Khrushchev are the class enemies of the revolution.

Special Session – 19 September 1968

In the evening a special session was held which was attended on the Chinese side by the Deputy Premier and Foreign Minister Ch'en Yi, and the Deputy Foreign Minister, and on the Yemeni side by Saif al-Dal'i, Faysal 'Abd al-latif, and 'Ali 'Antar.

Faysal explained South Yemen's experience of struggle. He spoke about his country's poverty and the abominable exploitation practised by British imperialism for 129 years, and the reactionary classes such as the sultans and feudal lords.

Faysal spoke of the lack of accurate statistics in Yemen. The extent of cultivated land is estimated at 220,000 feddans, and there are about 700,000 to 1,000,000 feddans of reclaimable land. Feudalism, as exemplified by the ruling families, owns nearly 70–80 per cent of the cultivated land.

Faysal spoke about the working class, saying that its circumstances most nearly approximate to those of a lumpenproletariat

due to the dependency economy. In Aden there is a petrol refinery which employs 2,000 workers from a total of about 80,975 workers, according to the 1965 figures. Unemployment figures now reach 25,000 workers; this is attributable to the closure of the Suez Canal, since the harbour of Aden had been very active and an important staging-post. Likewise the British military bases employed a larger number of workers whose work was terminated with the evacuation of the colonialists from South Yemen. In addition to this, the country's economy is characterized by being a service economy, which accounts for approximately 80 per cent of the economic activity. The budget reaches £33,000,000 while the income totals £8,000,000; because of this underdeveloped economy, the class situation is not completely crystallized, although, to be sure, this does not mean an absence of class contradictions.

Feudalism exists, as exemplified by the ruling families, by the foreign bourgeoisie, and by the bourgeoisie linked to the foreigners, which represents a small segment; there is also the petty bourgeoisie of peasant origin. Confronting these are the working class (especially in the services sector), which is an unstable group influenced by the bedouin spirit; the class of peasants, which is the largest class of the community, covering most of the rural areas in Yemen and influenced by the tribal spirit; and finally, the herdsmen, whose community is pastoral and governed by a backward tribal system. The bedouin way of life has a clear influence on the petty bourgeoisie, worker, and peasant classes.

Then Faysal shifted to discussion of the National Front, which represents an alliance between the peasants, workers, and petty bourgeoisie. In fact, the National Front is not a front composed of sundry organizations, but is rather an arrangement which is held together by a unity of political, combative, and organizational positions. Its interests are brought together in the Charter.

There are nascent popular institutions for the workers, students, and women, and a federation of popular organizations; moreover, there is a move which is crystallizing into a federation for the peasants.

Faysal then spoke on the tasks of this stage, which is one of national democratic liberation, aiming at safeguarding and consolidating national independence by fighting imperialism and colonialism, and by rooting out feudalism. He said that the National Front intends to follow the path of scientific socialism, and for this reason the cadres of the Front devote earnest study to Marxist-Leninist

thought and the writings of Mao Tse-Tung. They also aspire to learn from the revolutionary experiences of other peoples and from their accumulated knowledge – especially from the Chinese revolution, which was able to liberate hundreds of millions of human beings, as well as destroying colonialism and the large reactionary forces which it had encountered over the harsh and bitter decades, ending with a crushing victory for this great revolution over its enemies.

Then Faysal spoke about conditions in the Arab region and described the defeat of June 1967 and Israel's occupation of the territory of three Arab states with the full co-operation of American imperialism. He stated the dangers which Israel represents to the Arab future and the struggle of the Arab people for liberation and progress. He stressed the importance of Yemeni unity and likewise the need for Arab unity, confirming that unity is one of the goals of the contemporary Arab struggle.

Faysal then addressed the Palestine problem and commended the position of the People's Republic of China and its principled stand in backing the struggle of the Palestinian people. He noted the necessity of supporting this struggle in a broader and more comprehensive way and spoke about the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, its progressive line of thought, and the obligation to aid and support it in view of the fact that it is a progressive revolutionary fighting force, for it has a well developed Marxist-Leninist orientation.

After Faysal had reviewed the international situation and, in particular, the conspiracies hatched by the forces of imperialism against the Arab revolution, he asked that the Chinese speak on their revolutionary experience, since it is a rich human treasure for the advancement of mankind and the liberation of the nations of the world.

Ch'en Yi spoke very briefly on the importance of the issue of national liberation and the liberation of the economy. He also explained the dimensions of the Cultural Revolution, and promised to discuss in detail the issues of national democratic liberation in the next session. With great modesty, he said, 'We are eager to learn from the experiences of other peoples and we have benefited from the exposition presented by the Yemeni delegation concerning the revolutionary experience of Yemen. We say this to you in sincerity and not as flattery: for we really have benefited from your experience.' The Yemeni delegation then reiterated its

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request to visit Comrade Mao, and Ch'en Yi promised that the request would be granted, although, in the event, no such visit took place. In addition, the military and economic committees were meeting to study the details of the requests of the Yemeni delegation.

Visit to one of the Army Units – 20 September 1968

The Yemeni delegation (Saif, Faysal, and 'Antar) made a visit, in company with the Vice-Premier and Deputy Foreign Minister, to one of the army units.

On the way to visit Military Unit No. 191, Faysal asked Marshal Ch'en Yi, Deputy Premier and Foreign Minister, why China persists in declaring that it receives official delegations which are not official and popular ones?

The Marshal replied: 'This is in your interest, in the service of your struggle – this is the reality and the truth.' He went on to say: What the Arab peoples are facing is the war against imperialism and colonialism and the extermination of feudalism, not the building of socialism. You do not fight capitalism directly. We are pleased that you want to carry out a national democratic revolution, and that you want to follow the line of scientific socialism. We are also delighted that you have a great respect for Chairman Mao and that you intend to study his writings and thoughts. For if you studied these writings, you would find that you are passing through the stage of national democracy; if you were to bypass it, wanting to leap over it, you would fall and lose your footing. Marxist-Leninist theory posits stages of historical development – feudalism, then capitalism, then the end of capitalism and the transition to socialist society. There is no alternative to passing through these stages. Concerning feudalism in your country, there are the sultans and princes by whom the peasants are exploited. And from your words it is clear that you have a serious task before you in combating feudalism, for to this day you have not yet liberated the peasantry.

And it is not your country alone over which feudalism has dominion, for you are aware that you have strong neighbours who practice feudalism of the worst kind. Surrounding you is the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, where the people are subject to a reac-

tionary feudal system about which you know much. Indeed, you know better than we about the intentions it harbours towards you. This system is not only feudal; in addition, it exploits religion in a repugnant manner due to its presence in the areas sacred to Muslims and its claim to protect and supervise these areas. You must be thoroughly conscious of this and understand the importance of the religious weapon which the Saudi ruling family employs to prevent the liberation and advancement of the people of the region. You must also understand that this system receives complete and absolute support from American imperialism due to the immense riches in the Kingdom's territories – above all, oil – and due to the strategic position of Saudi Arabia and its influence on developments in the Arab region and the Islamic nations.

There exist facts and events which you must study objectively and scientifically, for your every claim about constructing socialism and raising slogans which are impractical and provocative offer, by their nature, sharp weapons to your adversaries, with which they can fight you and incite against you the local forces which surround you. You are, at present, in the stage of national democratic liberation and not in that of constructing socialism. Moreover, adjacent to Saudi Arabia, there are in Yemen the remnants of the royalist forces under the command of Imam Badr. They represent feudalism and exploit religion and tribal and sectarian clannishness. These weapons are lethal if not devastating confronted by political consciousness, education of the masses, and winning them over to your side. And next to yourselves you find the feudal regime of Oman, which does not accept your victory over colonialism and will never agree to your programmes aimed at eliminating feudalism, strengthening national independence, and freeing the economy of your country from the noose of colonialism and imperialism. This is your situation: feudalism, within and without.

We believe sincerely that you must understand thoroughly and benefit from the experience of various peoples, that the task of fighting feudalism is never an easy one. For behind feudalism are the forces of imperialism and its allies, local and external. This imperialism offers weapons and money to those feudal lords in order that they may create unrest among the people. The feudal elements in your country and in the neighbouring countries are frightened and alarmed by the ideas which you put across, and they fear the permanence of your system and your persistence in waging war against reaction and feudalism, as they fear the education of the

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masses. They fear for their own institutions and they dread the growth of consciousness among their masses in Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Oman, and elsewhere.

I have learned from your account that the majority of the population are peasants. This indicates that feudalism is the main pattern, without denying the presence of capitalism, more specifically in Aden, where capitalism has superseded feudalism, and where there are modern devices such as electricity, telephones, hospitals, and other forms of services which are brought about by the capitalists, following a route similar to the western lifestyle.

The capitalists in the cities are the representatives of colonialism and imperialism and are considered comprador capitalists who serve the interests of the capitalist system. They serve the foreigners; the quality of being national is weak among them or rather they do not possess that quality. I would go as far as to say that they exhibit national characteristics even less than do some of the feudal lords. The presence of capitalism in Aden is very useful to you, because its existence means the existence of the working class. For the capitalists and the proletariat are like twins, since there is no capitalism without a proletariat.

It is perfectly natural that the capitalists cling to a capitalist path, while the proletariat by its nature wants to follow the path of socialism.

We believe that in your country the seeds of socialism are widespread, for the workers are these seeds, and in a society of 1,500,000 their percentage is large.

Moreover, capitalism in your country is not developed.

I repeat to you the statement that you are now in the stage of national liberation and not in that of achieving the dictatorship of the proletariat. Your basic task now is to end the operation of feudalism, to demolish the traces of imperialism and colonialism, to achieve complete national revolution, and to found an independent political authority. Likewise, you must establish a modern industrial sector, modern agriculture, and the raising of livestock. The important point in all of this is that these tasks be accomplished gradually. Indeed, the step-by-step accomplishment of all of these undertakings is absolutely necessary.

You must strive to stabilize the development of this revolutionary orientation. Your task is to carry out the national democratic revolution, and in particular you must spread total democracy. You must liberate the peasants and establish modern agriculture.

If you bring these matters to maturity then the following steps will be simple and brought about with ease.

The national front is the allied front. This analysis is correct and sound. I do not consider this front as the party of the proletariat, like the Soviet party in the days of Lenin and Stalin.

In our capacity as your friends and brothers, we advise you to support this front, to strengthen and consolidate it so that it may become a party for the national democratic revolution. Your enemies are the old and the new colonialisms of Britain and America; the princes and the sultans; reactionary Arab forces; and people motivated by greed and exploitation, those who wish to take the place of the colonialists.

You must be wary of the new princes, those who mouth the slogans of socialism but actually want to preserve backwardness and feudalism. They are the ones – be sure you recognize this – whose interests and activities are a grave danger, for they want to replace the exploiting colonizers. They want to replace Britain.

As your brothers we wish to tell you to scrutinize North Yemen and study matters calmly and objectively. Although Imam Badr has been thrown out, that does not solve the problem, because the national democratic revolution has not yet taken place there, and it is still the tribal forces which in effect run the country. Continuing clashes among them, and conflicts between blocs and individuals, have not ended.

You have an advantage in South Yemen, in that British imperialism occupied your country for 129 years; thus, you will find that you have some intellectuals who can plunge into the stage of national democratic struggle, for they know modern tactics and are familiar with western capitalism and its methods. Therefore, they must play a role in the rooting out of colonialism and imperialism. It is they who can play a part in the democratic revolution, but they are not socialists. In truth, you are now in the stage of democratic national revolution and the gaining and protection of complete independence. You are nationalists in relation to the foreigners, and democrats in relation to the interior.

Therefore, there is no alternative to the earnest completion of this task and preparation for propagating the conditions necessary for the attainment of socialism. When these conditions come to fruition, the announcement of socialism will become easy.

We have our own particular views concerning social and economic development in your country. I do not impose them upon

you, but rather I present them to you as opinions and observations, hoping that you will reflect upon them. It is of consequence to us to present to you our experiences, through our struggle against imperialism and feudalism, without thinking for a single moment of imposing them upon you. We offer them to you so that you may study them, just as we affirm to you that we benefit from the experiences of all other peoples. We were pleased by the analysis, opinions, and observations you presented concerning the conditions of the Arab world, as well as your own social conditions, and we will benefit from what you have said and submitted to us, for revolutionary forces must learn from the experience of every revolutionary party. We are all in need of these experiences.

As far as we are concerned, we would like to say that it is through our reliance on scientific socialism, Marxism-Leninism, and the Thought of Mao, that we can analyse your revolution as we do.

From examining the international situation, from studying the general situation of the Arabs and the circumstances of each Arab country individually, and from studying the situation in your country, there is no doubt that you must apply yourselves zealously to the national democratic revolution. As for your assurances and determination concerning socialism, this is not at all in your interests. For imperialism dreads the national democratic revolution, when it is implemented and achieved.

We want to say to you with absolute clarity that you must unite with the Arab peoples. The unity of all of your Arab states is imperative; it is an absolutely fundamental need. For your union with the Arab states is a very important weapon in combating imperialism and colonialism. Unite with all the Arabs under the banner of the democratic national revolution!

You are one hundred million Arabs, you are one people. You are one nation. Your present conditions of fragmentation will not help you to confront your enemies. Your present circumstances will not permit you to confront imperialism. Why do you not unite against the forces of imperialism? Why do you remain in this condition of fragmentation? The present state of the Arabs complicates your tasks of liberation. You must struggle for the unity of your people and your countries, under the banner of the democratic national revolution.

The realization of national unity is a fundamental goal of the democratic national revolution. National unity is a basic prerequisite for the success of your political, economic, and social struggles.

The benefits of national unity are not limited to the augmentation of your forces, to their multiplication in confronting imperialism. Indeed, this is the era of the superpowers. Numbers are an important and basic factor. The Arabs are a large and rich nation. With your success in achieving unification, you will expel imperialism from your vast national area and with it you will accomplish what Chairman Mao once said: in China we shut the gates of East Asia in the face of imperialism and we rooted out its presence and influence. You, the Arabs, through your unity, can close the gates of Western Asia and North Africa in the face of imperialism and put an end to its presence and influence. Permit me to speak frankly to you: what can a single people or state of your numbers do against the despotic forces which conspire against it? I will not overstep the grounds of truth or encroach upon anyone's sentiments if I say to you clearly: look at Albania, the struggling republic, the friend, nearest of the world's nations to the People's Republic of China, governed by a party which is closest to our concepts and principles. . . . This little Albania is not capable of playing the role which the Albanian party wishes; and the reason is the size of Albania and the sparseness of its population.

So in your country, what would you be capable of doing, even if you were to apply scientific socialism and the Thought of Mao? The fact is that scientific socialism and the Thought of Mao decree that you follow the path of the democratic national revolution; and the unity of your country is an extremely fundamental and important aspect of the aims of this revolution, while the realization of your national unity is a massive step in facilitating the global struggle against imperialism. Once again I say to you: imperialism has no fear of your calling for socialism, because it knows perfectly well that your country has not yet reached the stage of achieving socialism. On the other hand, if you raise the banner of the democratic national revolution you will be able then to deal a severe blow to imperialism and feudalism, and to do so in a decisive manner. The voices which have been and still are raised in calls for socialism are not only committing an error but in fact are leading your country onto a dangerous path and into a dead end. So beware of those voices and isolate them in a non-violent manner.

I would like to add something which might cause astonishment and surprise to you. I would like to say that you should direct yourselves to the Islamic nations in spite of the fact that scientific socialism does not recognize religions or the existence of God. But

orientation towards the Islamic nations is a realistic policy which will benefit you. Islam is still an influential force among tens, indeed hundreds, of millions and you must not isolate yourselves from those masses, even if you have no direct contact with these millions.

Certainly, the orientation towards the Islamic countries, in order to explain your positions and policies, will be of benefit to you and will isolate the reactionary forces which combat you, using religion to isolate and weaken you. Understand us well. Understand what we have to say to you objectively and calmly.

You must know very well that in scientific socialism it is not words which are of the greatest importance. Rather, what is important and fundamental are realities and practical results. There is a great difference between theoretical talk and actual facts.

Now you, when you speak about socialism, which socialism are you heading and aiming for? The socialism of the Labour Party? Or that of France? Or Christian Socialism? All of these are imperialist.

What is socialism in the USSR, at present? In the era of Lenin and Stalin there was true socialism. We copied them, we were their pupils. They were committed to the true principles of socialism, and they had the great Party, the Red Army, the great Soviet Union, and the thoughts of the great Lenin. But after the Twentieth Congress and Khrushchev's seizure of authority, matters were much changed. He was *at odds with* Marxism-Leninism, and he was against Stalin; he even cremated Lenin's corpse and described him as a tyrant and oppressor.

Not only are they opposed to Marxism-Leninism there, but they lack the humanitarian spirit and revolutionary morals. During Stalin's life they glorified him and after his death they endowed him with the cruelest attributes and most abominable characteristics. They are traitors to the principles of socialism, as they are to the principles of the proletariat, and even to those of the bourgeoisie. And even this was not enough for them. After all, they dispatched their troops to occupy Czechoslovakia because it had repudiated Soviet hegemony. It is impossible for a socialist state to send its troops to conquer and act aggressively towards other nations.

We have learned that you want Marxist-Leninist socialism. You do not want it as it is now. You want, then, a scientific socialism which is not spurious or revisionist. We are completely confident of your honesty and we consider your intentions good. We say to you

that it is not the right of the Chinese people to monopolize Marxism-Leninism. But the major issue as we see it is: how is it possible to arrive at scientific socialism? In our opinion, it is by means of the democratic national revolution that you can attain this goal. It is by means of Marxism-Leninism and the Thought of Mao that we arrive at socialism. It is by means of following the stages and not in one or two steps. You must understand that it is impossible ever to copy the experiences of others. There is no alternative to creative study. There is no alternative to embarking upon severe and arduous tasks. There is no alternative to thought and study alongside action. If you were, at this point, to raise the banner of Marxism-Leninism and to claim a desire to implement socialism at the present time, that would not be practical, just as, without a doubt, it would not be advantageous or beneficial to you. That would create tension between you and the Arab nations, and some of these states would find the way open before them to accuse you of being atheists, and this will never be in your interests. Our advice to you is to steer clear of that so that you will not needlessly multiply your enemies. Your enemies will accuse you by referring to us, and will say that you are toeing the Chinese line. This will give the imperialist and reactionary forces a pretext to attack you 'justifiably'.

Thus, you must now achieve solidarity with the Arab peoples. Union with the Arabs is a vital necessity, fundamental for you and for all the Arabs. Together you can stand and wage war against imperialism and Zionism. Achieve the national democratic revolution earnestly and this will be most beneficial to you, far more so than your emphasis on socialism. Remember that conditions are not yet ripe for socialism.

The difference between you and the forces of reaction is that they call for reliance on imperialism and desire capitalism, while you wish to combat imperialism and undertake the national democratic revolution.

Let me tell you a little story. In 1964 there was a Chinese delegation visiting ten Asian and African countries. These states requested us to make a declaration endorsing their socialism in joint communiqués. We were emphatic about not doing so. We would tell them: we support you and want a national democratic revolution for you, just as we want you to rely on yourselves in order that you may liberate your homeland and people. They would ask: how can you not endorse socialism? We would say to

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them: if we showed our support with such talk we would be practising deception and falsification towards you. We do not do that.

We assured them that they were in the stage of national democratic revolution, the stage of developing the national economy and liberating the peasants, that of modernizing agriculture. They would say: the Soviets agree with our socialism. We told them: perhaps the Soviets are talking to you in a diplomatic manner in which they are not sincere. In our view the Soviets are establishing capitalism, for the Soviet Union itself has not persevered in socialism but has betrayed it. We always tell our friends that the achievement of socialism necessitates going through numerous stages. I was very pleased with the leader of a state in north-west Africa because he did not expound at length on socialism. In 1964, Nkrumah gave a long and exhaustive talk on socialism and African unity. But we asked him if it was possible to preserve the system in his own country while he was running the state apparatus in the English style, and while its departments were functioning according to the English system and there were even English officers in the army?

Likewise, Sukarno used to say constantly that he wanted to implement socialism and resist revisionism. We would say to him: your army is unreliable, especially in the region of Jakarta, where the compradors enjoy a pervasive and deep-rooted influence, as is clearly reflected by the army garrisoned in this region in particular. We would tell him: land in Indonesia is still in the grip of feudalism, and you are not working for the national democratic revolution, so how can you establish socialism? It is better for you to change your words about socialism. Sukarno was meeting the American ambassador regularly at one time, the Soviet ambassador at another time, all the while insisting in his conversations on the need to copy the Chinese line.

I wrote to him clearly and frankly: don't cling to the army. You must rely on the workers.

Arrival at Military Unit No. 191

This unit was founded at the inception of the resistance in 1937, and it developed from a guerrilla group to a company, then to a battalion. It evolved into a brigade and then into several brigades before becoming a division.

This unit fought throughout the entire period. In the Korean War, it had a part in the fighting against the American forces and it reached south of the thirty-eighth parallel in the battles in Korea.

The most important duties of this division include permanent readiness for battle. On the one hand, it constantly prepares for war while on the other it dispatches many cadres and troops to factories, schools, and the countryside in order to propagate the Thought of Mao regarding persistence in the revolution and the augmentation and development of production. From a third angle, the division is a production unit, according to the tasks prescribed for it, such as reclamation and cultivation of the land near to it. It is completely self-sufficient in vegetables and fulfills 80 per cent of its grain requirements. This unit has participated in the work and in production, and it is able to increase the income of the government and lighten the burden of the people while improving the lives of the troops. But the most important thing is the political work, in which the army is transformed into a large school for the Thought of Mao, which should be applied in a serious and beneficial manner.

The Deputy Premier recounted the experience of the military physician who understood the Thought of Mao so thoroughly and profoundly that he was able to succeed in accomplishing what many other physicians had been unable to do, that is, treating one of the soldiers and rescuing him from the cancer which had afflicted him. For this doctor succeeded after he had studied the Thought of Mao, which he used in his medical field, thus succeeding where others had failed.

The Third Session – 21 September 1968

In this session, the Deputy Premier and Foreign Minister Ch'en Yi presented:

1. The current international situation.
 2. Some queries.
 3. Economic aid to the Republic of South Yemen.
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1. On the current international situation, he said: America and

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Russia want to divide the world and establish a sacred alliance between themselves to wage war against the People's Republic of China. I spoke in detail on this subject in my speech of welcome to you.

The devil's claw is American imperialism, for its influence has reached most corners of the globe, and it wants to divide the world. Latin America and Canada are under its influence, and the United States does not permit others to enter this area.

As for Australia and New Zealand, they have been transferred from the grip of British imperialism to that of American imperialism. America imposed a treaty on Australia and New Zealand and they were forced to accept it.

As for Europe, it has been brought into the Atlantic Alliance and lives under the domination of America. But General de Gaulle is a different case.

In Asia, China and some of the socialist states with the help of China are preserving their independence. But Japan, India, and Indonesia are under the domination of American imperialism, which rules these countries politically, militarily, and through reciprocal co-operation. Military coups are one of the weapons to which America resorts in order to achieve its aggressive goals.

As for the Arab world and Africa, America has gained power and penetrated deeply into these areas; you are perfectly well aware of these matters. It is not necessary to explain to you what you know so well. In addition to that, there is Israel, and do you realize how this state was established? And who established it? And for whose interests it gains strength and expands? You know the roots of the Zionist movement and its alliances from the beginning to the present.

America co-operates with Soviet revisionism to dominate the Arab states. Therefore it trained some of the agents – about whom you know a great deal – to carry out their well known missions in the service of American imperialism.

Thus, the overall strategic plan of America covers the whole world. But China has become the great obstacle which blocks its global domination.

In China, the United States was backing Chiang Kai-Shek in order to keep our country under its domination. However, it met a major defeat at the hands of the Chinese national liberation army. We destroyed 8,000,000 troops of Chiang Kai-Shek's army. During the two world wars, the United States made many gains, won vic-

tories, and became the strongest state in the world, but it met its first defeat in China; thus, it thoroughly despises China and is aware that it lost a large continent which had been under its control and hegemony.

American imperialism cannot triumph over China; when it met defeat on the soil of China, it retreated to the island of Taiwan in order to create a plethora of problems and troubles for China.

America also gained mastery over the United Nations. It has deprived us of our legal right to membership in this international organization, and it has seized Taiwan illegally in order to make it an instrument of aggression directed at us. It has set up military bases around us.

American imperialism did not reconcile itself to its defeat in China; hence, its well known attempt to attack Democratic Korea, thinking that China, which had been liberated shortly before, would not be capable of aiding Korea. In the end, however, it saw the truth of China's power and the role of the Chinese volunteers in supporting the people of Korea in the defeat of the aggressive invasion.

Likewise, America did not reconcile itself to its defeat in Korea, and it embarked upon a partial war in Vietnam after 1954. Our friends the Vietnamese have stood fast with determination and perseverance in the face of this imperialist aggression. By itself, China had aided the people of Vietnam; above and beyond offering weapons, it stood beside its friends with strength, determined to defeat the aggressors, who are stepping up their aggression. America has expanded its war against Vietnam, as the whole world knows today. We know that America intends aggression against China and is undertaking a blockade against us and subversion around us. But China has resisted and will continue to resist until the imperialists are routed as they were in 1949.

In Asia, the forces opposed to imperialism are growing, as they are in Africa and Latin America. Since World War II, America has striven to establish control of the world, for it desires global supremacy and control over the national independence movements of the colonized peoples. The history of the whole world since the end of World War II is the history of the fight against imperialism, the history of the conflict between the attempts of imperialism to establish control and exploitation and the peoples' resistance to this dominion.

After World War II, the Soviet Union under the leadership of

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Stalin fought global imperialism through its co-operation with colonized peoples, co-operating with them shoulder to shoulder. But this policy changed after the death of Stalin and Khrushchev's assumption of power. For the latter changed the policy of Stalin and established that of peaceful coexistence with America. In 1956, the Twentieth Congress was held and Khrushchev took harmful and offensive measures such as, for instance, the removal of Stalin's corpse. This was a very malicious measure indeed, the aim of which was to prepare for co-operation with America and capitulation to it.

At that time, Khrushchev had not overtly set the war against China in motion, although since his takeover he had been fighting China secretly, in an unannounced war. He threw himself into the embrace of imperialism in the Caribbean Sea incident, before which he had not followed a policy of accord and co-operation with America openly. After this incident, however, he revealed his true position. Before the famous American spy plane U2 incident took place, Russia had wanted to participate in the Paris Conference with three other states, America, Britain, and France. But this did not in the end transpire, following the aeroplane incident and its surrounding circumstances.

After Khrushchev was thrown out in 1964, the peoples of the world hoped for the USSR's return to the policy of Lenin and Stalin, following the Marxist-Leninist line and waging war against imperialism. But Brezhnev and Kosygin threw themselves into America's embrace in a more open manner, following a policy of retreat and compromise with America.

In the Middle East, the Soviets co-operated with America to gain control over the nations of this region, supporting Israel and maintaining silence concerning its expansionist policy. For American imperialism resorts to armed aggression and the use of peace corps to subvert national movements. As for the Soviet Union, it pretends not to notice the policy of aggression, keeping quiet about it and working to destroy the national economy by means of economic aid.

In our opinion, Brezhnev and Kosygin plunged headlong into the course of compromise and co-operation with America to a greater extent than did Khrushchev. Khrushchev talked with Eisenhower and visited him at Camp David in 1959. He said there that among the American monopolists there appeared reasonable men, and that the American President, Eisenhower, loved peace just as we did.

Even at the end of June 1967, discussions were carried out in America, 'domestic discussions between the Soviet and American leaders'. What domestic discussions could possibly take place between them when vast regions of your countries had been occupied at the start of the same month – that is, no more than two weeks or just slightly more had passed since the aggression – at a time when the Soviets were claiming to be the Arabs' friends and allies? The Soviet Union justifies this from the perspective of politics and diplomacy, but this talk is not true at all. The Soviets witnessed the aggression from beginning to end, and it was they who told the Syrians and Egyptians that there were Israeli concentrations on the borders of Syria. They stirred up the stormy atmosphere at the same time that the reports of the United Nations observers were saying the opposite.

The facts indicate that the Soviets kept quiet, in fact that they helped Israel and America to attack the Arab countries, and helped them indirectly to bring defeat upon you. If they were sincere in claiming their friendship for you, how could they have undertaken domestic talks in the atmosphere surrounding this Arab defeat?

Kosygin, as you recall, gave his famous speech in the United Nations General Assembly. After that, and during the discussions which focused on the issue of the aggression in the Middle East, he did not speak at all or mention his aversion to imperialism. Instead, he travelled to meet Johnson in order to carry out domestic talks in Glassborough. Kosygin betrayed the Arab states by carrying out these friendly domestic talks which remained secret – closed to you, the Arabs. Neither your people nor your rulers knew anything about the truth of these talks.

The Soviet Union exploited the Arabs' defeat in order to penetrate the Middle East, for it wanted, by holding 'domestic talks' to exchange interests with the United States in the Middle East. Thus, they presented you with peaceful solutions to implement this 'domestic' policy and to divide the interests in the region among themselves.

Some of the Arab states do not know that America and the Soviet Union co-operate so widely in the Middle East. The Soviets adopted slogans of co-operation, peaceful solutions, and aid to the Arab states in order to penetrate the region, while what they wanted and demanded from America was recognition of their share in the Middle East. The truth of the matter is that the Soviet

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Union bowed down before American and Israeli pressure in order to serve its own interests.

At present – September 1968 – we can say that the Arab countries would want to gain true independence, were it not for the conspiracies and secret agreements between America and Russia.

America knows very well that if it had relied upon its strength in addition to Israel, it would not have been able to defeat the Arab states, whose population exceeds one hundred million, especially since Great Britain, America's major ally, is weak, and since, moreover, France does not give in to America.

The United States knows well that the Soviet Union is a new and excellent partner which can announce its endorsement of national liberation and at the same time divide domination over the Arab countries with America. America is aware that the Soviet Union is a first-rate instrument which cannot establish complete control over the Arab countries, but in the Arab region it can make the Soviet Union only a valuable partner.

America, Russia, and Israel all call for a peaceful solution while large parts of your homeland are under occupation; they are in accord in order to gain control over the Arab countries. If we looked closely we would find that the Soviets achieved indisputable penetration into the Middle East after the Israeli aggression, and we must ponder very deeply who the beneficiaries of the aggressive action are.

Some of our Arab friends agree with us on this view, and consider the Soviet Union to be a colluding partner in the aggression towards the Arab countries. But there are also Arab friends who oppose these views and do not agree with our analyses. Some of the Arab states have surrendered to imperialism, and some of them used to oppose only the Soviets; now, they do not oppose America and they co-operate with the Soviets. There are some others who oppose neither America nor the Soviets. The matter is exceedingly complex and requires very detailed study. We do not impose this theory upon you or anyone else.

You are fighting America, and this is a necessary and important task. You must also strive for the unity and liberation of the Arab countries. We say to you: China and Yemen share positions and experiences with respect to old and new forms of imperialism and colonialism. But with regard to the Soviet Union, the issue is thus: this great socialist state has returned to capitalism and is trying to

re-divide the world. In this aspect, we assure you, we have more experience than you do.

During the eras of Lenin and Stalin, we experienced the excellent co-operation of the proletariat with the Soviet Union. As for the present era, we perceived the Soviet betrayal of Marxism-Leninism clearly. Brezhnev and Kosygin have pushed this further, making great strides along the road taken by Khrushchev, returning to capitalism and throwing themselves into America's embrace to achieve an essential objective: taking their share in the bargain of dividing up the world. We know this well and recognize it profoundly.

We have been in contact with them over four generations. Soviet revisionism passed into the embrace of imperialism, becoming America's partner in attacking the peoples of the world. They have struck many bargains: in the Caribbean Sea, the Middle East, and Africa. In Nigeria they agreed to suppress the struggle of the Biafran people, and they worked to organize the Second Conference for Solidarity of the Asian-African People. They concurred in the Paris negotiations to find a solution to the Vietnam issue in a peaceful manner so that America would remain in Vietnam indefinitely. They want the Vietnam issue to be suspended in midstream. This is an indication that the Soviet Union is adopting a policy of pseudo-support and actual betrayal of the struggle of the Vietnamese. They fight against China with these policies and procedures, reckoning that they are weakening and isolating it. Finally, the Soviets sent troops to occupy Czechoslovakia; the United States overlooked this and took it lightly.

There are significant lessons which we must learn. All working people can see clearly that America and Russia are trying to divide the world. This is the most prominent feature of the international situation at the present time. All of those who do not wish to adopt our view must take note of that on their own. For Russia and America aim to fight against the new China, to stifle its development and encircle it.

The American representative to the United Nations gave a speech in which he said that America and Russia must oppose Maoism, which is partial to war. In reality, the meeting between the two states aims at attacking the new China. But China, particularly after the Great Cultural Revolution, has become much stronger in fact than the two states would imagine; indeed, they must ponder for a long time because China would never give in.

2. Moreover, the two states are in secret collusion to subjugate national movements and to attempt to extinguish the flames of revolution in the regions in which there are movements for independence and national liberation. As for the states which have become independent, the two nations are attempting to control them by all the means at their disposal. They use all means, such as economic and military aid, to secure this control and to realize peaceful co-existence between themselves at the expense of those states. The Soviets advise and urge those countries which have achieved their independence to follow the policy of peaceful coexistence. They also counsel them to proclaim the building of socialism. In reality, this nullifies the liberational, national, and independence struggle. The Soviets try to penetrate these nations in order to secure co-operation, with the concurrence of America. The Soviets advise these states to establish socialism, when the conditions for establishing it have not matured. This is to make it easy to encircle them, impose co-operation upon them, and liquidate the movements working for independence and national liberation.

3. In western Europe, America, and Canada, the heart of the capitalist world, revolutionary movements have emerged in the workers' and students' circles. These movements appeared last May and more than 10,000,000 workers and students participated, but America and the Soviets co-operated to extinguish and crush these movements.

These movements came into being in the heart of the capitalist nations, but the Soviet press gave no support to them. On the contrary, it registered disapproval and said that these movements represented a plot; that they were Trotskyite and influenced by Maoism; that they were leftist and extreme. They predicted their failure. They adopted, thereby, an imperialist stance; it was clear that the Soviets feared the extension of these flames to consume Moscow, and therefore they adopted a position consonant with that of the imperialists in order to extinguish these revolutionary fires.

China, however, gave decisive support to these movements, just as it clearly backs national liberation movements in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. It was obvious that America and Russia were not pleased or at ease about this, but I want to clarify a point concerning these revolutionary movements. Their work began in the heart of the capitalist world, but they cannot, we are certain, take power in a short period of time or end the age of imperialism. We

are aware also that within these movements are found many orientations, for instance, the call for the abolition of government and authority; there are also groups influenced by the ideas of Proudhon, Trotsky, or Guevara, as ideas, slogans, and portraits of the latter were put up. In April and May the slogans and thoughts of Rosa Luxemburg were in the air for many days. And there are those who displayed Chairman Mao's portrait and Thought and supported the Great Cultural Revolution.

The internal situation of these movements is complex. Different tendencies have appeared, but the goal of them all was to attack the heart of the imperialist states. These movements played a part in backing and supporting the nationalist movements in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

Some of these movements have demanded no more than reform of the university education system, others have gone on strike demanding higher wages; some have demanded only to participate in university administration, or nothing more than to share with the managers in running the factories. Some have been of a temporary character, while others have been of a continuing nature. In September, studies start and it is expected that these movements will experience a renaissance. Subsequently, it will be possible for the proletariat to undertake effective revolutionary action so as to seize power. In any case, it is only a matter of time.

The masses of workers and students will learn and be trained by means of these struggles and will follow the correct path, that of seizing power by force of arms. Some of these movements have been influenced by the Thought of Mao in a particular but not comprehensive fashion. These have been subjected to repression by imperialism and revisionism but in the end they will follow the right path, that of Marxism-Leninism and the Thought of Mao, for through the battles and struggles they will be educated and will adopt the correct measures for attainment of their goals.

External forces cannot replace internal revolutionary force, and the national movements in the three continents are duty bound to support these movements.

Imperialism partitioned the world while suppressing nationalist movements in the three continents, especially after World War II. And, just as there came the storms of the Great October Revolution and those of the Chinese Revolution of 1949, and similarly the storms of the nationalist movement in the three continents which rooted out imperialism and reaction lock, stock, and barrel,

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now we are seeing storms in the capitalist countries, great storms the likes of which have not occurred in history. The dazzling future will come through the guidance of Marxism-Leninism and the Thought of Mao, in a conscious manner to be sure, when those storms will be crowned with shining victories over the enemies of human progress.

Some of our friends say to us: you achieved independence and national liberation and you face burdensome tasks. You cannot possibly turn your attention to the revolutionary movements in western Europe and America, at the same time resisting Soviet policy. We regard this theory as conservative and harmful in the long run.

The imperialist bloc and revisionism co-operate in a significant way, so it is incumbent upon liberation movements to co-operate with revolutionary movements in the capitalist world, for the enemy is one.

If the national liberation movement in the three continents had not undertaken risky adventures, it would not have achieved independence. And if it had not fought in this spirit, it would not have been able to attain true independence.

China opposes imperialism and revisionism and is ready to face the tempestuous dangers which are prepared for it. If it had not always been prepared for every possibility, China would not have had Marxism-Leninism nor would it have been able to adhere to the Thought of Mao.

De Gaulle opposes America's efforts to gain control over the world. In his speeches, he announces his opposition to the American and Soviet policy of dividing the world. De Gaulle said, 'We recognized the People's Republic of China, but that is not a recognition of communism and scientific socialism. It is to confront America and Russia.' And our recognition of de Gaulle does not mean recognition of his system. Since the month of May, we have always supported revolutionary movements in western Europe, and this upsets France, but we cannot forgo this principle, and we will continue our support for these movements. We cannot make a bargain at the expense of our principles. If the proletariat achieves global victory, and the three continents are liberated, then it can support China in a real and conclusive sense.

China opposes the chauvinism of the large state. Russia makes itself master of others' interests by its supremacy while it co-operates with America to partition the whole world. China opposes

American and Russian hegemony and their supremacy.

America considers itself the most advanced spearhead of imperialism. Russia considers itself *the* socialist state and this is the chauvinism of the large state. The two states will weaken the small ones and work to divide them. China, however, has no policy of hegemony or supremacy. China was subjected to oppression at the hands of imperialism for a hundred years, and experienced the disastrous trials of an oppressed country. After liberation and independence, Khrushchev wanted dominion over us; he wanted to pursue a policy of hegemony. China wishes to deal with all states, large and small, on an equal footing in fighting against imperialism and colonialism. China has achieved progress in overcoming underdevelopment but it is not enough and we must persevere in increasing our efforts. As for our experiences and success in overcoming underdevelopment, we would like to offer these to our friends among the developing nations, together with aid. For example, the visit to Unit 191 could not have taken place in revisionist or imperialist countries because they would consider this a military secret.

Mao and the reform of educational policy made it clear that the basic task is establishing bonds between all the intellectuals and the workers and peasants. Boys and cadres of bureaucrats from various government departments are sent to factories and farms for re-education. This is a new phenomenon in human history – affiliation of the intellectuals with the workers and peasants, and theory with application. Even I go down to the workers and peasants to re-educate myself, and I will go again in the coming year. *I have not thrown away my gun for ten years.* We must study the lives of the workers and peasants, for they are of as much consequence as those inscribed in books.

We consider you brothers in the fight against imperialism and colonialism. Before you arrived we explained that a delegation of the National Front and People's Republic of South Yemen would be visiting as a government delegation. I spoke at length on this topic in the car. We regard government relations as being in the forefront of your interests. Your position among the Arab countries differs from ours, and you have a large task in combating colonialism, reaction, and Zionism. Your task is the national democratic revolution, and externally the national revolution, by preserving your independence and pushing the Arab countries towards unity in order to fight against colonialism, reaction, and

Zionism. And this will be completed many years hence.

On the domestic front, you must achieve the democratic revolution by eradicating the princes and sultans, effacing the feudal system, and abolishing the economic system which the colonialists created. You must achieve widespread democracy. You must unite with the workers, peasants, and petty bourgeoisie, and even with the princes who have demonstrated their national spirit and who desire to fight against imperialism and even capitalism.

Do not place your trust in the feudal lords, princes, sultans, or the bourgeoisie, for they exploit the workers and peasants. This is correct, and it is very good indeed that you are aware of this point.

Here 'Ali 'Antar interrupted the Deputy Premier, saying, 'But we have got rid of the sultans and feudal lords. They are all the same – exploiters and evil.'

The Deputy Premier resumed, laughing. You, my friend, are more leftist than we are. The truth is that we do not want to interfere in your internal affairs, but our sincerity and our esteem for you impel us to tell you about our own particular experience. Thus, in spite of our reluctance to give our views in these sorts of matters, we find ourselves obliged to put to you our opinions and thoughts. You are not obliged in the least to implement anything that we tell you. We want to say to you: in your dealings, you must distinguish between the feudal and bourgeois classes.

We oppose the princes, feudal lords, and sheikhs in their class capacity and we eradicate this class. But in dealing with individuals, we must look at their political deeds. We have learned from our own particular experience with regard to individuals of this class. During the years of the long struggle which the Chinese masses endured, we observed, with regard to their political stance, that there were three groups of feudalists, and we used to pass judgment on individuals from these groups according to their political stance, dealing with them on this basis.

The first group consisted of traitorous agents who accepted a position of hostility to the revolution; in fact, they stood with the Japanese and reactionaries and fought with them against us. For this group, our position with respect to individuals was absolutely unequivocal: we confiscated their lands, liquidated, and eradicated them. The second group adopted a nationalist position in the sense that its individuals stood with the forces of the revolution and supported our political and military position in fighting the Japanese and reactionaries. Some of the individuals of this group, indeed

most of them, were sincere in their national stance and hostile to imperialism and reaction. For this reason we were obliged to adopt a flexible position with regard to them, taking most of their lands, but dealing with them in a positive way. Indeed, we encouraged them to adopt positions of greater clarity and more firmness in backing us. As for the third group, its position was opportunist in the sense that when we were in a state of victory and advance, they would stand with us to a large extent. When we were forced to withdraw and retreat, they would turn against us. This opportunist stance, despite its injurious quality, differs from the stance of the first group, the traitorous agents, and certainly also from that of the second group, whose politics and positions were amicable to the revolution and nationalism. Therefore, with the third group we followed a policy and took a position differing from our positions with respect to the other two groups.

You might be astonished if we said to you that, to this day, among those who work on the farms and in some sectors of the economy, are certain feudalist elements who adopted a nationalist stance. However, they definitely lost their possessions and land forever, becoming citizens who enjoy the respect of the new society. Some of them have abilities and expertise which can be turned to account, but that class which exploited our peasants through many centuries has been eradicated; it has vanished for good.

Thus, we believe that it is more beneficial to you not to treat all the sultans and feudal lords the same way. For we consider that democratic revolution, liberation of the peasants, and liquidation of feudalism are all complex and difficult matters, and, as Lenin said once of politics, 'It is not like strolling in Nevsky Prospekt.' These are not simple or easy matters. They are complicated, indeed extremely complicated and difficult. In your case this aspect presents more difficulty and complexity than our circumstances have done for us, due to the presence of tribal organization and the relations, influences, and links of the sheikhs and princes; it is not easy to get rid of these in one blow. In addition, you are encircled by feudal and tribal systems and states which have extensions and relations beyond you. Moreover, some of them employ the weapon of religion against your steps and reformist measures and are skilled at exploiting religion, for example, Saudi Arabia.

We say to you that during your struggle you need to evaluate the positions of individual feudalist elements from a political perspec-

tive. Our words certainly do not signify the continued existence of the feudal lords as a system or as landowners, just as we do not mean to suggest in the least a delay in liberating the peasants from that hateful and odious system. Once again, we hope that you understand us well. We are offering our experience and you are in no way asked to adhere to or implement what we say to you. We feel that it is our duty to present our experience to you, and just as we benefited greatly from your experience of struggle we would like to present our experience as food for thought; it, or some of it, might be useful to you.

Likewise, with regard to the bourgeois class, we would like to say that it is an exploitative class which follows capitalism and colonialism. We are not familiar with the precise situation of the bourgeoisie in your country, but in China's experience it consisted of the comprador class, which cannot take up a lasting position of support for national independence. Thus, we are categorically against it, and will continue to be so. There is the bourgeois class that is financed by feudalism in the countryside and exploits the peasants, while in the cities it exploits the working class. For that reason, we are unable to express any hope concerning it; indeed, the individuals in it, in general and almost without exception, operate in collusion with imperialism and work against the revolution.

But we believe that the national bourgeois class supports national independence and that its individuals are not in collusion with colonialism. We believe that in your country they can be made subject to your orders. They must have a programme for fighting against colonialism; you must have a profound and comprehensive understanding of national reconstruction. You must strive to win them over so that they will rally around you.

Then there is the issue of intellectuals and officers. Without a doubt the concepts of these follow those of the bourgeoisie, and they are devoted to foreign culture. In general, they despise the workers and peasants by nature, and have a sense of superiority over the masses of peasants and workers, due to their culture. They always love the western way of life, that of the upper class; but in general they are bound by the national independence movement and national reconstruction. Thus, you will find them sympathetic to your liberation programme and they will fight against imperialism and colonialism. You must win them over to your ranks and sever their links with feudalism and the bourgeoisie. You must take

advantage of the position of hostility which they take with respect to imperialism, and eradicate their conservative views and their perspective on the poor masses.

This requires from you a true awareness, ever present alertness, and great caution; it is a matter which is never easy.

You have taken a sound and excellent position regarding reliance on the poor masses, but it is sounder and more correct to rely on all of those who share in the fight against imperialism and colonialism. You must understand perfectly that there is interference and rivalry in everything, and you must always be conscious and alert, for confidence in all matters is unsound. There must be a yardstick, a criterion. The important thing is to combat colonialism, imperialism, and feudalism indefatigably.

We repeat our welcome to you and we reiterate that we are offering our views and experiences not so that you will adhere to them or implement them, but rather so that you will think about them and see what is useful to you.

You must analyse the situation according to the Marxist-Leninist way and depend on the Thought of Mao in order to treat reality in a correct manner. But none of this means that you have entered the stage of the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism; rather, you are now in the phase of national democratic revolution.

Soviet revisionism tells you that socialism will be established in your country and that the National Front is a socialist party. This is deceitful. They want you to fall into the Americans' snare and under their control. You, if you carry through the national democratic revolution, will reach socialism. There are Asian and African states which used to say that they were socialist in spite of the fact that they were in the stage of national democratic revolution. Thus, we have seen them lose their independence and freedom; before you as examples are Ghana and Indonesia.

The general interests of the majority of the 1,500,000 people in South Yemen are in accord with those of the workers, peasants, and petty bourgeoisie. If the national interest is suppressed or prejudiced, then we cannot claim to be safeguarding the interests of the peasants and workers. We must preserve national independence with all our forces.

You must begin immediately to reform the national economy and to develop it gradually. Opportunities to find work for the unemployed are very great without depending on foreigners. Instead, rely on yourselves. This is the essence of the workers' and

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peasants' interest. We advise you in the national interest which is ultimately the interest of the workers and peasants; we also want unity among the Arab states. We have hopes for its realization and we oppose any schism or fragmentation. We believe that you will achieve the national democratic revolution and expel colonialism, and this in reality is your greatest interest, and ours as well. Its fulfilment is an accomplishment which will be in the greatest interest of the Arab countries and of the world. The fulfilment of this will help to bring about the conditions necessary for realizing socialism. Persistence in the national democratic revolution and perseverance with independence is itself in the interest of socialism.

In November of the coming year, a conference will be held for the communist parties and workers' parties. We oppose this and will boycott it with determination.

We would like to reiterate to you now that yesterday's talks in the hotel and car, and our discussions today, are talks between two governments and that we are not talking about the socialist revolution, but rather about the national democratic revolution.

On Soviet revisionism we offer our views to you, telling you to adopt the position which you yourselves regard as suitable. We do not ask anyone in the Third World to take a particular stance except that of political independence. We cannot unite with revisionism, for it, in company with the leaders of eastern Europe, with the exception of Albania's leadership, has betrayed Marxism-Leninism.

You will soon be sending a delegation to the Soviet Union and from this point in time we are in complete agreement with this step of yours. This will enable you to come to a correct judgment about the facts of the matter and this is in accord with your interests.

The mutual understanding between America and Russia was fundamental. With the passage of time, their co-operation against China grows. The Soviets are arranging peaceful solutions with Vietnam while occupying Czechoslovakia. We perceive that some of our friends might doubt our words and our appraisal of the relationship between the two superpowers, or rather, seeing the relations between them, they might explain the conflict between these two states as one of securing leadership.

The Soviet Union has become a capitalist state. In North China, Soviet aeroplanes have violated our airspace more than a hundred times. Over a period of two years the Soviets transported more than 300,000 soldiers from Europe to the Chinese borders. Why?

What is behind these measures, internal and external, which they are carrying out?

Finally, we would like to thank you for your support of our application to enter the United Nations. We appreciate your adoption of this position.

The Fourth Session – 22 September 1968

This session, held in the People's Hall, was attended by the members of the Yemeni and Chinese delegations. After thanking the Deputy Premier for the detailed exposition of circumstances which he had presented, Faysal concentrated in his remarks on the fact that in South Yemen there is no mass organization of a socialist orientation. He said that the absence of this mass movement in the Arab countries had played a role in bringing on the setback which befell the Arabs in June 1967. Faysal stressed that this point – that is, lack of an organized mass movement – is a very important element in all of the circumstances surrounding the Arab countries, and in his opinion the international factor, important as it is, was not the only one pertinent to the setback.

Then Faysal spoke on the conditions of the Arab region and the dangers of the American-backed Zionist expansion. He stressed that the Arabs would not surrender, that they would fight for the return of the areas which have been seized, and that Israel was a colonial base which would have to be eliminated. Faysal spoke on the Palestinian resistance and the important role which it plays at a time when the other Arab states are readying and building up their armed forces. He requested that China increase its aid to the resistance and to the Arab states, and spoke on the importance of China's aid not being restricted to the Palestine Liberation Movement (Fatah) only, mentioning that the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) is an important fighting organization characterized by its clear and progressive political line. He requested that aid be offered to the Popular Front as it was to Fatah.

Faysal commented on the international situation, and explained in detail the circumstances of South Yemen and the programmes for reform which the Yemeni leadership had in preparation. He said that the issues of rural areas, distribution of land to the

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peasants, and the liquidation of feudalism would be announced shortly; and these programmes, aiming at the liberation of peasants and workers from exploitation, would be implemented. He spoke about Yemen's need for financial and economic aid, in the hope that China would offer it to them. He also said that his country would request this kind of aid from the socialist countries and the Soviet Union. Faysal reiterated his thanks for the analyses and the account of experiences presented by the chairman of the Chinese delegation, with the assurance that these would be a focus of serious interest and earnest study, so that the Republic of South Yemen and the National Front would benefit from the experiences of the Chinese revolution in the two stages of armed struggle and reconstruction.

The Deputy Premier and Foreign Minister: I would like to offer my views with respect to your circumstances despite the fact that my data are relatively meagre. I hope that my opinion will be conveyed to the President of your Republic, to your political leadership, and to the masses as well.

My words might be of benefit to you, but you are not bound by them to adopt what we say. Solving Yemen's problem is left to you, and there is no one in the world who can solve your problems except you. This is your problem. Others can help by offering opinions, advice, and experience, and then aid. But the fundamental factor is you, your efforts, and your persistence in solving your problems, and I say to you that you are faced with difficult and complex ones. But your success in achieving victory over imperialism and expelling the British colonialists also demonstrates your abilities and your potential for success in the stage of reconstruction, just as you have succeeded in the armed struggle.

Reliance on the masses will help you to solve your problems. If you rely on the workers, peasants, and revolutionary intellectuals, and on holding democratic revolutionary discussions, that will greatly aid you in arriving at the correct solutions.

With respect to the African countries, we cannot make judgments about their leaderships. We are not like the Soviets and Americans. *We offer guidance.* We want to co-operate with the Arab and African states but we do not interfere in their internal affairs or in disputes between Arab and African states. And we hope that these states will solve their problems and differences by just means, with equality, and without violence. Likewise, we do not interfere in conflicts between ruler and ruled in any country.

Naturally, we are in contact with the rulers of these countries but we do not manufacture *coups d'état* or carry out subversive actions. We are unlike America and Russia in this sense and we do not push one group to strike at another group. True, there exist communist parties in the true sense of the word in other countries, and these parties oppose and fight imperialism and revisionism. However, they solve their own problems by themselves, and we are bound to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the teachings of Mao in treating these problems.

The Chinese Communist Party is the Marxist-Leninist party *par excellence*. This party has developed Marxism-Leninism. It is recognized that the Thought of Mao is the developed Marxism-Leninism. We adhere to an independent policy and we do not rely on the Soviet Union. On this point, outsiders might lack a clear perspective. We did not accept one rifle or gun from the Soviets throughout the armed struggle to liberate China, and after the establishment of the Republic in 1949, relations were established between the two governments. Prior to the liberation we accepted no help from them. In the Korean War we took weapons from them, but we paid their full price. The sums we paid amounted to 600,000,000 dollars.

Before the liberation the Soviets did not help us, on the pretext that the roads were rough, the distances long, and communications difficult. There were comrades of ours who did not listen to the sayings of Comrade Mao or to his advice regarding self-reliance, and they were determined to go to the Soviet Union; regretfully, they were killed *en route*. That might appear strange, and perhaps you do not give credence to all of this. But these were the events, and the facts of our experience, which we all know thoroughly and profoundly.

The Soviet revisionists always say that the success of the Chinese revolution was achieved thanks to Soviet aid. Actually, such talk is absolutely incorrect. The Soviet Communist Party (and with it, the Third International) offered us moral, ethical, and spiritual support, but as for taking strategic and political decisions, that devolved onto Comrade Mao, and as for arms, we obtained them from China, from the booty which we took from the enemy.

I will relate to you an incident which might astonish you. In October 1949, we occupied Nanking, Chiang Kai-Shek's capital, and we annihilated his troops. He fled with his highest-ranking officers to Canton and Taiwan. But during this time a strange

incident occurred: the American ambassador in Nanking did not flee, but stayed, or rather, he asked to stay. He wanted to establish relations with the Chinese Nationalist Liberation Army. At that time, I and a comrade from within the leadership were entering the city, and we refused the ambassador's request for a meeting with us, telling his envoy to tell the Americans that they had perpetrated barbarous actions in China and there was no way for us to meet the ambassador or anyone else. He should return to his country. The ambassador left immediately.

As for the Soviet ambassador, he fled with Chiang Kai-Shek to Canton because he did not believe, and the Soviets could not imagine, that China would achieve victory and success. After our total success, the Soviet ambassador returned.

Before today, this incident had not been recounted in public, and we never speak about it, because we bear deep feelings of goodwill towards the Soviet people. The Soviet Communist Party is the heir of the great Lenin, and our faith in it has never been frustrated. But now the Party is led by traitors and scoundrels, such as Khrushchev, Brezhnev, and Kosygin.

Once again, we wish to say that we are keen for this to be broadcast abroad.

We have long and close experience with the Soviets, encompassing four generations. Lenin and Stalin represented the true International; they supported China, and helped us greatly on the level of politics. But there was never any economic or military aid.

We know that Stalin had his faults, but at the same time he was a great leader. As for Khrushchev, Brezhnev, and their ilk, they are scoundrels, opponents of Marxism-Leninism and supporters of capitalism.

You might not believe this. We leave you to put it to the test for yourselves.

I would like to offer you my views on your internal struggles as a review and in confirmation of what I said earlier; perhaps this will be of some use to you. You must bear in mind always that you are the ones who decide your policy; we have no responsibility for that.

After your independence, the basic question is the consolidation of independence and the continuation of the fight against foreign interference, acts of subversion, and coups. The return of Britain to Aden is a possibility which must not be allowed to escape your minds. America and revisionism have established embassies in your country and you must be cautious and alert.

The real problem concerns the feudal lords, princes, and reactionaries who have not yet given up hope, who want to control you and mount coups against you. For any people's attainment of its independence is a very significant matter indeed. But the possibilities of losing it remain, and thus there is no alternative to unceasing struggle in order to preserve and strengthen your independence.

Your enemy wants to sabotage your independence by any means, and similarly he wants to make it an independence in form only. The only method is to rely on the masses, and you must establish an unshakeable cohesion and firm union with the poor masses. It is necessary to liquidate the elements among your ranks who are in collusion with the enemy. You must hold out against any pressure from imperialism and revisionism; likewise, you must withstand any pressure or temptation from Soviet revisionism. You must establish links with the Soviets. This is sound, but you must be firm in the face of the pressures and temptations of revisionism.

The internal issue consists in putting into practice agricultural reform, so that the poor peasants will obtain land. Nothing will realize the interests of the peasants short of their gaining possession of the land. If you want to eradicate the sultans and princes, only true agricultural reform will allow you to do so. Earlier, I advised you that if there are certain princes or sheikhs who are good from the perspective of their political positions, you must cooperate with them on condition that they renounce their land. It is impossible for the princes and sultans to retain land, but their treatment as individuals must command your examination, interest, and attentive and watchful concern.

Distribution of the land to peasants will lead them to stand by you with strength and back you with determination. It is a tangible and self-evident fact that peasants all over the world only understand and believe in reality; by distributing land among them they will be made to support you, and if you fail to distribute land you will dash their hopes in you. Your distribution of land is not, however, socialism.

Some Asian and African states think that land distribution means socialism, but this is never the case. After American independence, George Washington distributed vast tracts of land to the peasants. Was Washington a socialist?

In 1789, the French revolution took place, and lands there were distributed to the peasants. This step was the most important

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content of the bourgeois revolution. We want to emphasize once again that the major issue in the national democratic revolution is that of land.

We have heard that you have formulated a programme of agricultural reform and we will study it. We advise you to distribute land first to poor peasants and nomads. You must distribute livestock to the nomads. This is a condition for the democratic revolution.

There are those who raise the slogan of agricultural reform and fail to implement it. This is a fatal mistake.

After the land has been distributed, the peasants will become more active and defensive of their land. They will give their support to the army and to your programmes. The first step is land distribution. (You are advised to read the third clause of the first article, concerning land and the peasants.)

Land distribution does not require expertise or legislators. In China, this problem required, to mark the boundaries, a few sticks from time to time, stuck in the ground as markers for the distributed lands.

If the princes, sheikhs, and feudal elements wish to work, after examining each one's political stance you can distribute land to them, but only to work on and not for exploitation. However, at the same time, you must guard against acts of sabotage by them.

Let it be well known that your revolutionary national government should stand alongside the peasants. My Deputy informs me that there are two opinions: the first says that the maximum limit for ownership should be the equivalent of twenty-five feddans, while the second sets the ceiling at three feddans. The fundamental issue is not one of area. The basic point is: have the peasants obtained the land or not? And similarly, have the nomads obtained livestock or not?

It is not good to leave the land undistributed for long. You must not allow that to happen.

Concerning the area, twenty-five feddans signifies medium landowner in China, but you must resolve the issue of area according to the type of land under distribution.

The question is: should you rely on the rich peasants or the poor ones? It is necessary to depend on the majority of peasants. The most important thing for you is to distribute the land and also to rally the majority of the peasants around your programme. After that, the features of your state will quickly change. Your country

will be transformed from a semi-feudal, colonial society to a truly independent, national society, created by a vigorous and vibrant movement. Perhaps extremist movements will appear, but do not fear them; rather, practise a policy of persuasion towards them. This is an experience which tests the moral fibre of all revolutionaries.

We hope that no division in your ranks will arise. Naturally, a few will oppose the policy of agricultural reform; they must be expelled. Do not put your trust in western democracy or degenerate, corrupt humanism. Your laws must have as their aim the protection of the workers and peasants. This is a necessity for the national democratic revolution.

Some of the Arab states speak a lot about socialism, but at the same time they place restrictions on the workers and peasants; thus, their independence is one of form only. There are some chiefs who donate lands and livestock to the government; it would be more appropriate to distribute them to the peasants.

The Chinese army is composed of 60–70 per cent peasants, 10 per cent workers, and 10 per cent intellectuals. This army was formed during the peasant revolution and land distribution.

In the cities, the most important thing is the nationalization of the banks and factories set up by the colonialists. When appropriating these establishments, do not be apprehensive about the failure of administration. The workers are South Yemeni in origin, and as for the directors or financiers, they are foreigners enjoying the profits.

We have an example. The electric company was American and its directors were British. The company was handed over to the workers. In the beginning, we faced many difficulties. There were no spare parts, we had no vehicles, and we lacked many materials. We searched through the warehouses and found many of these that the owners and directors of the company had hidden and concealed. But there was nothing in this to hold us back from our programme, even if the warehouses had been empty. Allow me to say to you once again that this measure is not considered as a realization of socialism either.

The important establishments should be under the government and not under individuals. The revenue from these establishments must return to the state.

As for the small businesses, they should not be nationalized, for the nationalist shops will support the revolution.

With respect to the nationalization of some houses and small enterprises, such as cinemas, one should not object to this in principle; rather, revolutionary fervour must intensify and escalate. One must, however, distinguish between the nationalization of foreign enterprises and the nationalization of houses and small enterprises. One must make distinctions between sound positions and those of infantile leftism. You must counsel such infantile leftists and explain to them patiently and with forbearance the difference between the two stances; you must make clear to them the danger of such positions to the course of the revolution and its progress. Frankly, you must resist them on a large scale in the name of leftist infantilism, for their positions are unsound and dangerous. They must understand well that what is significant is not mouthing revolutionary talk, but rather practical application and the examination and knowledge of reality – understanding the reality and balance of class forces, and comprehending in a sagacious and sound manner the objectives of the present stage.

You must be well aware that the true enemy is the right. It is the right which works hand in hand with colonialism and reaction. We do not agree much with the policy of killing individuals. We believe that dangerous elements must be punished according to the rule of law. As for the alleged leftists, and especially those who call for bypassing stages, what they do is to undertake infantile actions. You must disgrace them before the masses, revealing to them their mistakes, appraisals, and bad analyses; after that, you can isolate them from pursuing their activities if they persist in and are not deterred from their infantile positions.

Something like this might occur even among the ranks of your leadership. The ranks of the masses will be in conflict as a result of this, particularly during the stage of fighting against imperialism and feudalism. Such stances should not be dealt with as antagonistic conflicts. Of greatest danger is the rightist tendency. You must be alert to this and put an end to it.

We welcome your desire to study Marxism-Leninism. You said that Marxism-Leninism is the property of the whole world, and this is correct and sound. You wish to achieve scientific socialism according to the Thought of Mao. We would like to assure you that China does not want to monopolize these principles, and it will please us to see your study and comprehension of them in a correct manner.

Marxism-Leninism and the Thought of Mao say that your

country is now passing through the stage of national liberation. The most dangerous threat to this stage is the rightist tendency, but do not fear it and do not hesitate to resist and liquidate it. You must deepen the revolutionary fervour and activity of the workers, peasants, and cadres as well. I sense, while you are conducting talks with me, that you are concerned about the elements which claims to be leftist. But what you must do is to solve this problem in a spirit of comradeship with the poor masses, revealing before them the danger of vacuous leftism and empty verbalism.

Resisting the leftist tendency, however, is not important at present. You must make distinctions between individuals. Some of them can be reformed. The important thing is that you do not allow them political power. You must understand that expelling them to a foreign country is not sound. Instead, you must leave them to the masses. You must benefit positively from the useful lessons arising from the events of January, 20 March, and July of this year. Our observation is that you derived great benefit from them, for you acted reasonably, with sagacity and wisdom, and you avoided errors into which you could have slipped.

With respect to the army, in years past we operated a system of ranks, which created division and distinction between the officers and troops, and led to a lack of unity among them. Comrades Mao and Lin Pao decided to abolish these ranks. This was a very good measure in that it was no longer possible to distinguish between commanders and troops; they became brothers, and the incompatibility between them was overcome.

After the independence of some states in Asia and Africa, repression was not totally abolished. I spoke on this earlier.

Israel is a racist, aggressive state, which can mobilize an army of 250,000 combatants at most, armed with the most up-to-date American weapons. In my opinion, Israel is not a state which is invincible. I think – and I am speaking to you as a combatant and commander participating in armed struggle, for I was at the head of the army of national liberation which liberated several large cities, the most important of which was Shanghai – if the Arabs could make available 50,000 infantrymen then they would be able to achieve victory over Israel by means of a people's war. The regular army of the UAR failed, but the forces of the Palestinian Resistance attain victories and advance. The Arab states cannot obtain more aid from the Soviet Union than Israel does from America. You cannot compete with Israel in this sphere, for America will

begin to give Israel more than the Soviets give you. The tilt of the military scales in the domain of armament will be to the advantage of your enemy. Hence, we think that the Arab states should not overburden themselves with spending for the purchase of tanks and aeroplanes. We think that the Arabs must refrain from the degradation of begging and self-abasement for the sake of obtaining weapons.

Reliance on the human being is a very fundamental and extremely important element. Evidently, you in the Arab countries do not give the human being his due in such a struggle for self-determination between you and the Zionist aggression. It is also obvious that the Arab states are not tending to their concerns or responsibilities according to their circumstances and the given conditions; in fact, they seek to compete with Israel in arming, and in this they cannot come out ahead.

It is also evident that the Arab states do not fully comprehend their strong points and their enemy's weak points. Why do you fear casualties? Why do you fear the destruction of your cities if you intend to defeat and destroy this enemy? Do you know the extent to which China sustained losses in human life during the armed struggle? Our casualties exceeded 20,000,000. Our material losses were immeasurable and inestimable in both city and countryside. But in the end the revolution attained victory after a thirty-year struggle; China was liberated and imperialism and reaction were banished forever.

Thus, we reiterate: do not fear casualties, for you have a tremendous number of people when compared to the number of Israelis and you must be completely aware of the extent to which the Israelis fear losses in human life. This is the enemy's weak point; have you studied it thoroughly? Your potential for mobilization is unlimited; have you grasped this fully?

I will tell you once again that Israel can be defeated. You need 50,000 fighters and the resolve to sustain the material and human losses which will befall you. I assure you that such a battle, along the lines of a people's war for a period of five years, will cause Israel, this imperialist and racist fortress, to collapse and meet defeat. I tell you without a doubt that Israel, after a struggle of this kind, and with earnest determination on your part to be patient and suffer, will topple as the dying, rotten piece of fruit falls to the ground from the highest branch of the tree.

We suffer so much for what happened to you, at the hands of the

Israelis and Americans and with the connivance of the revisionists, in the June 1967 war. We believe that defeats are not permanent; indeed, they are the path to victory for those who are determined to continue the struggle. You are capable of that. I will not dwell on this for too long. Look at Vietnam, a model and an exemplar for oppressed peoples. You can do everything necessary to pave the way for a devastating defeat of Israel and those who stand behind her.

On the subject of the Great Cultural Revolution I will be brief and leave the rest for Comrade Chou to complete this evening. China's revolution achieved victory nineteen years ago. There remain some people in office who follow the capitalist path inside the Party; they occupy important Party and government positions. They have no powers of resistance when faced with imperialist and revisionist pressures. They pursue a peaceful life inside China, they do not want to continue the revolution, and they oppose Marxism-Leninism and the Thought of Mao. They want peaceful coexistence with America and they follow the revisionist line. They concern themselves with the good life inside China. They say that the bourgeois and feudal elements have been rehabilitated and that there is no need for new reforms. But the fact is that these individuals are working in collusion with America and Russia. By waging this revolution, Chairman Mao has paralysed the bloc which intended his overthrow, and consolidated the dictatorship of the proletariat in China, guaranteeing that the colour red would remain unchanged in it. Mao engineered the destruction of the plot to bring back the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in China. The dictatorship of the proletariat must continue its tasks no matter what victories or setbacks it meets. In China, we have problems and issues which Marx, Engels, and Lenin did not touch in their writings and to which, therefore, they offered no solutions. They were not contemporaneous and did not live through problems like these which we face here in China, which are the attempts to bring back the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie after its fall, and the revisionism which has recently grown in the Soviet Union and which some here have tried to copy.

Chairman Mao has solved the problems of the present era which we face, developing Marxism-Leninism in a creative way, thrusting it to a new stage and helping to propel revolutions the world over many steps forward, just as he also has given strong support to movements of national liberation in Asia and Africa and to revol-

utionary movements in the capitalist world.

China has offered itself as an example to the nations of eastern Europe with the exception of Albania. This will enable them to discover how they may get rid of revisionist rulers and return Marxism-Leninism to its revolutionary state.

Albania is a relatively small state in east Europe which takes the same course as we do. It has a population of 1,000,000 and an area of 28,000 square miles. It is smaller than your country and is able to withstand the pressures of imperialism and revisionism. It applies itself zealously to Marxism-Leninism and endorses the Thought of Mao. It opposed the occupation of Czechoslovakia and withdrew from the Warsaw Pact in protest.

China is a model example of the large state, and Albania is a model example of the small state. I advise you to take an interest in Albania and to study its revolutionary experience.

1. The first thing in the Cultural Revolution is persistence in following Marxism-Leninism and the continuation of the revolution. This is the greatest aid we can offer to revolutions the world over. If we had not solved this problem of China's then those revolutions would have taken the course of the Soviet Union. As for America, it wants to take the world back into the past.

2. We have solved the problem of the heirs to the Chinese Revolution. Of course, there are the older leaders, headed by Mao, some of whom have reached 80 years of age, while some others are over 70 and some over 60. They cannot escape the laws of nature, so the problem must be solved for the coming generations. New groups, aged 50 and over, now exist as new cadres and holders of new positions and responsibilities. We were not content with that, however, so we have pushed some 20 to 30-year-olds into new posts in the cadres. This was accomplished according to the directives of Mao concerning education of the generations and the continuation of the revolution.

We have succeeded in solving the problem among the aged, the middle-aged, and the young. They feel the deepest love for the Party, the revolution, and each other. Allegiance to the revolution has completely encompassed every place and level, in fact, devotion to the revolution has increased for the sake of the revolution and its pursuance.

In this manner, it is possible to pass authority to the new generations. And with this, we have shattered the conservative theory concerning the training of youth. We have also shattered the theory

of revisionism and China's Khrushchev on guiding youth to a life of luxury. We proved that the young are capable of studying the Thought of Mao and defending the revolution and the country.

3. America and Russia monopolize scientific and technical advancement. But the Cultural Revolution has solved the problem of technology and science and we can change China's circumstances. We will overtake and surpass them. There they depend on the experts, while we mingle experts, scientists, workers, and the masses. The line of their experts realizes achievements over years, or tens of years, while we achieve new things every day.

China and all of the Arab states are lagging behind, especially in the scientific sphere. If we act according to the Thought of Mao whereby the experts join forces with the masses, the masses would then be educated by the scientific outlook and the scientists would re-educate themselves. It is possible to say that after twenty years the states of Asia and Africa would be more advanced than those of Europe.

Political progress in Asia and Africa leads to scientific progress inasmuch as science is put into the hands of the majority rather than into those of the minority. This is a fundamental change, and we can call as evidence the surgical operation which took place in Unit 191, which we spoke about earlier, when these ideas achieved what the traditional scientific method had failed to do.

4. The Cultural Revolution solved the problem of educational reform. For a hundred years, no one had dared to give an opinion on the subject. Study began at the elementary stage and continued until the doctoral degree was obtained. Then graduates would rush to high positions. However, Mao opposes this system because he wants to open the field to the workers and peasants, since this system creates an elite class for the intellectuals in the service of the rulers, and is not tied to practical application. We find that some of the graduates of the military college are less proficient than the soldiers in the army.

The university graduates look down on the workers and the peasants. So Mao decided to suspend study in the universities for a period of three years and to distribute their students to the factories, farms, and army. This makes it possible to eradicate the barriers between the workers and peasants, on the one hand, and the intellectuals on the other, and it also erases the disparity between theory and application. We have eliminated the production of the elite upper class, and we want the factory to produce

those who serve the people with utter devotion and integrity.

For 300 years no one had dared to touch this educational system. Mao proposed the new system because it is consistent with the needs of the masses.

5. In solving the issue of literary and artistic reform, it must be remembered that China is rooted in an ancient culture and civilization which extends back hundreds of years and in which are found great poets, authors, artists, and sculptors, as well as Chinese handicrafts, which are world-famous. In these spheres no revolution had been permitted and it was thought that any change would bring the sky tumbling down. Translation of works by Shakespeare and others was undertaken, and some used to read these books without stopping to eat or sleep, while others loved some of the Chinese and foreign arts.

In the past the Chinese were obliged to study these books, and there was no revolution concerning such matters. They would say that literature and art had reached the summit and could develop no further and that no one had surpassed Shakespeare and his like. We also acknowledge Arabic literature and we concede its special status. But we believe that we can reform literature. This is what the leadership of Mao, Lin Bao, and Mao's spouse has accomplished.

If it is possible to reform science, how can it not be possible to reform literature and art? For in the past, literature elevated kings, princes, and beautiful women further aloft; they represented beauty. However, they despised the workers and peasants, regarding them as clowns, as filthy and unmethodical. We have no book which praises the workers and peasants. Some writers may perhaps praise workers, peasants, and heroes but they elevate them to the ranks of princes, as if they have become kings. Thus, they praise them by comparing them to the kings and princes; moreover, they have not given up the feudal models. Thus, there was no alternative to carrying out the revolution in this sphere as quickly as possible. We attach little importance to European and Soviet literatures due to their preservation of obsolete values. For the workers and peasants have stepped onto the stage and have swept away the filth of the bourgeoisie. This is the greatest of reforms, although we are still learning and studying some of the ancient literatures.

In the past, ballet dancing was restricted to the palaces of the kings, princes and princesses. In the past, this dancing was per-

formed without singing and they used to say that this would have an effect on the ballet. But a troupe of the Red Women artistes was revived; it developed and was able to combine singing and dance. This is a revolutionary, powerful, and serious thing, and not something which is decadent or unaesthetic. This is only one example of the reforms which have now been inaugurated in all aspects of literature and art. Many poets and writers have been found among the workers and peasants, and their compositions are very fine indeed.

But we must tell you that it is not possible for you to transfer the Cultural Revolution to South Yemen. If you admire the Cultural Revolution you must draw a lesson and a precept from it.

We oppose the people in office who follow the capitalist path against the party, and you oppose those who follow the path of feudalism. During the Cultural Revolution we uncovered spies and agents of America, Britain, the Soviets, and the Japanese and we purged them from our Party. You must purge the disciples of imperialism and feudalism from among your ranks.

We support the dictatorship of the proletariat and you support national independence. As for literature and art, they must praise the workers and peasants, the national revolution, and the heroes struggling for the Arab countries. Your Arabic language is beautiful and vigorous, something which you may esteem, something with a heritage of which to be proud.

Literature must support those who support us and oppose those who oppose us. If you were to read the Chinese newspapers you would find that we do not oppose the Arab countries, in spite of the positions of some of them with respect to us. We consider the Arab states as our friends. Our newspapers are a pulpit from which to wage war against America and revisionism.

On economic and technological co-operation between the two countries, we wish to say to you that as a policy your expenditure must match your revenue. We will offer you £5,000,000 and with this £5,000,000 and your other revenues you can establish a sound economic policy. You must regard aid in secondary terms. In China, we set up projects according to our revenue. We noted that you have proposed big projects and we believe that this is unsound. We would like to say that we are committed to offering substantial aid to thirty other states, and we carry a special and big responsibility towards Vietnam.

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We will offer £5,000,000 as economic aid, a fifth of which (20 per cent) will be monetary aid while another fifth will be in commodities. In addition, we will offer military aid for 5,000 combatants, composed of light weapons (rifles, machine guns, and anti-tank guns). We will study the possibility of constructing a spinning and weaving factory and a paper factory, as well as roads for communication. We offer the military aid without recompense. The aid will begin to reach you from the beginning of the new year. We will bear the costs of transportation and freight.

This commercial agreement achieves mutual benefit. The financial and economic loan will carry no interest and its value will be repaid over ten years.

Special Session with the Deputy Foreign Minister – 21 September 1968

This session was held between the members of the Yemeni delegation (Saif, Faysal and 'Ali) and the Chinese delegation under the chairmanship of the Deputy Foreign Minister Chou. The Deputy confirmed that China has a special attachment to the October Revolution and the Soviet Union of years gone by, when the Soviets were the symbol of revolution. But sometime after the death of Stalin, the truth of revisionism was revealed. It requires time for any matter to show its true colours. In 1953, Khrushchev assumed power. In 1956, the Twentieth Congress was held, and subsequently Khrushchev's revisionism offered a comprehensive programme, meaning by comprehensiveness that all the revisionist theories were made apparent in an obvious manner: peaceful co-existence, peaceful competition, peaceful transformation. The latter theory means that it is possible to sweep away the reactionary system, or to obtain national independence, or to sweep away colonialism and imperialism, without resorting to armed struggle.

After the Twentieth Congress, we began to discover the shortcomings in Khrushchev's programme, but at that time we did not sense the programme's danger. In 1957, a congress was held in Moscow in which twelve socialist states participated. In this congress we turned our attention to the status of the Soviet Union as the heir of the October Revolution and the leader of socialism. But we offered our own theory on peaceful transformation and our

belief that it was a mistake. We did not announce to the world the divergence of our views with theirs, in order to protect the unity of the socialist camp. In 1957–9 relations remained almost good but Khrushchev was attempting to control us by every means, especially the air and naval forces.

Our Party under the leadership of Mao does not agree to that, and neither do the principles of Marxism-Leninism. The Soviets sent experts to our forces to organize the Chinese fleet in the Pacific Ocean. The efforts of the Soviets focused on subjecting our fleet to their supervision and control, and they wanted to take over command of our fleet, so relations between us began showing signs of strain. The Soviet Union had reached an agreement with us, in accordance with a technical agreement, to offer technical aid to manufacture the Chinese atom bomb. But after the atmosphere became tense, with our stance when faced with attempts to take control of our military command, Khrushchev violated this agreement and suspended it.

In 1959, as Ch'en Yi said this morning, Khrushchev visited the US and relations between the two states improved; accordingly, his opposition to China intensified. In 1959, Khrushchev attended the celebration of China's national anniversary and we visited the Hall of the People. Khrushchev took over the podium in the Hall to abuse us. Naturally, there was tension after that between the two countries, but the problem was treated delicately and cautiously. He would abuse us in his speeches but we publicized nothing openly; we would explain some of his theories without mentioning his name. In 1960, he realized that China would not accept his pressures and directives, so he decided to withdraw his experts in order to impose pressure upon us. The Soviet Union had helped us to construct hundreds of projects and thousands of its experts were working in various factories; Khrushchev imagined that with this measure we would submit, unable to continue our projects and incapable of doing anything. In that he was wronging us, for we persisted in treating the issue of the Soviets cautiously, and we carried on solving our problems by depending solely on ourselves.

In 1961, the Communist parties, eighty-one of them, were invited to convene a conference in Moscow, and we asked the Soviets for a return to the former place.

In 1962, the Soviet party held the Twenty-second Congress and the Soviets publicly opposed China, Albania, and Stalin; at this time the Soviets supplied Indian reactionaries with arms to attack

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China. How could a socialist state assist a reactionary state with arms to attack another socialist state?

Until that time, we did not publicly announce our opposition to the Soviet position.

In 1963, the Soviets concluded an agreement with America and Britain stipulating the diffusion of nuclear weapons. In this period we were compelled to announce our criticism publicly. The truth of this agreement is clear: that is, the three states wanted to monopolize the atom bomb. Debates between China and the Soviets began in 1963 and 1964.

In 1964, Khrushchev was removed from power. Our Party exerted every effort to follow up the changes in the Soviet Union with the aim of rescuing the unity of the socialist camp. In the celebrations of October 1964, our Party sent a delegation to Moscow, but we found the new rulers to be like Khrushchev, co-operating with America to fight China, and especially to fight our Party and its chairman, Mao. After that, relations with the Soviets became normal, like relations with other states, i.e., official relations.

In dealing with problems, we worked with them cautiously from 1964 to 1965. From our own experience the revisionist leadership bloc is so bad that it is impossible to reform it. This conclusion of ours has been reached after lengthy observation and examination. Some of the issues might appear strange in the eyes of Asian and African peoples, but in our view they are not strange, for you do not have this long experience with them.

There are matters which concern you very greatly, like the latest events in the Middle East. We would like to ask you: did the Soviets help the UAR during the past year? Our answer is: they aided it indeed. But what is this aid? We say, yes, they gave them much, not a little, help. But at the decisive point the Soviets helped America to sell the interests of the Arab states.

In the past year and during the two months of May and June, during the bitter struggle, you were not aware of the abundant information and the truth of the situation at the time. But I can talk to you about these data because President Nasser notified us of them. For three whole days, from 5 to 7 June and during the harshest days of the battle, the Soviets stood watching what happened to your armies at the hands of the Israelis, with overt American aid for them against you. You were in a very tight situation and needed support. So, why did the Soviets adopt this position?

This is not an appropriate topic for us to discuss. But the reality

and the actual course of events indicates without a doubt that America knew of the aggression in advance and that it passed the news to the Soviets. The issue is not restricted to that; indeed, the United States knew for certain that the Soviets could not and did not want to support the UAR in facing the aggression. When Israel's forces reached the Suez Canal, the Soviet Union advised the Arabs to cease resisting, and they advised Egypt to accept the decision of the Security Council. It was a new beginning for the Soviets in the region.

On peaceful negotiations, revisionism has adopted this line with respect to the Arab states, Cuba, and Vietnam. In a word, it has given a few simple things in order to achieve full control over these countries.

And Czechoslovakia. . . . Why did revisionism invade it? Because its leaders do not accept or wish to accept Soviet control. On these issues we say with modesty: we are better informed than you because we have more experience. It is possible to make a comparison between two periods: the era of Lenin and Stalin, and that of Khrushchev and Brezhnev.

You might not think that the Soviets have degenerated to this extent, but comprehensive knowledge only comes through practical experience, and this is what has happened to us over many long years.

I do not imagine that you will not request arms from the Soviet Union, but let me inform you of our experience. We tell you this: what we observed and learned over the years is that the policy of the Soviet Union is one of opportunism which seizes chances. When Russia offers any aid, it does so from motives of egotism and a desire for expansion and dominion. It does not pause or hesitate to sacrifice the interests or even the existence of small nationalities, for Soviet policy is not, as you imagine and believe, a policy of support for movements of national democratic revolution.

I would like to inform you that Soviet aid consists in general of bad materials, most of which are not new or up-to-date. They replace with new material the old which is sold to you, so that they retain the new for themselves, for their industry, their farms, and their projects. And on the whole, the materials which they offer as aid consist of heavy machinery which carries high prices and their interest rates are high, as you will observe for yourselves. When you offer negative comments to them concerning their aid, they will argue and be evasive. Then they will say of you or to you: 'Nat-

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urally, you prefer the products of the imperialists, and you are influenced by imperialism.' They might say more, until you accept whatever they offer to you.

In reality, behind the aid are political conditions aiming to control the situation in the country which takes Soviet aid, or to steer its policies in accord with their interests and to develop their relations with the imperialists. There is no partiality in this. A recent example: the last time President Nasser travelled to Russia to request military and economic aid, they consented to his request on the condition that he accept a peaceful policy in the Arab region, that is, that he pledge not to create disturbances in the Arab countries, that he temper the common Arab struggle.

In Vietnam, you know that in fact peace negotiations are taking place between the Soviets and the American imperialists.

There remains the problem of our friends, the Palestinians. Our position regarding their case has been well defined and clear. We told them: continue your struggle and we will give you light weapons. We will not give you aeroplanes or tanks. We still agree to that and we hope that their struggle will intensify and grow. We will stand by their side until the liquidation of the aggressive racist state is accomplished.

At this point, the Yemeni delegation reiterated its view concerning the role of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, the importance of its struggle against Israeli aggression, the struggle of the Front for the Liberation of Palestine, and the elimination of the Zionist presence, saying that the Front is a fundamental progressive force and that ideologically it represents the Marxist-Leninist line. The Front does not receive any military support from China. It was supposed that China would have stronger relations with the progressive forces in the Palestinian arena, especially with the Front. Faysal said: 'We have long-standing bonds of struggle with this revolutionary organization and we are confident of the sincerity of its orientation, and the firmness of their fighters and positions, over many years, against Arab reaction. We will value greatly assistance for the Front through its support with weapons, facilities for training their combatants, and co-operation with it.'

The Chairman of the Chinese delegation – the Deputy Foreign Minister – replied: We appreciate your stance regarding the Popular Front and at the same time we have an idea of the orientations of the Front and its intellectual, political, and military struggle. We have especial respect for its leadership, although we

have our own view concerning the course of struggle in the Palestinian arena.

We believe and know that the Front stands to the left of Fatah and that intellectually it is more progressive. We are also aware that inside Fatah there are numerous orientations and tendencies, and that it is closer to being a broad national front than it is to being a unified organization with a unified line of thought. However, we believe at the same time that in a battle like yours to liberate Palestine, the criterion must be that the one who bears arms against imperialism and Zionism is a nationalist element who must be supported and strengthened. On this basis, the number of those who are bearing arms against the Zionist enemy must increase. When man bears arms for the sake of independence and liberation this is a fundamental extension of nationalism. We back and co-operate with all who bear arms against the enemies of their people.

In our opinion, in a battle for self-determination like the battle of Palestine, national unity is a very fundamental element for victory; indeed, national unity is one of the basic conditions for victory in the national revolution against imperialism. On this basis, we support Fatah despite our knowledge of the different tendencies inside it. We had hoped that there would be one Palestinian organization to mount resistance against Israel and the United States, but we know that there are realities which cannot be surmounted easily and objective factors linked to the Palestine situation and the circumstances of the Arabs which prevent the establishment of a united national front to fight against Israel, the Zionist movement, America, and revisionism.

All of this does not prevent us from saying that we certainly value the most conscious and Marxist-Leninist elements, but we consider it preferable and sounder for revolutionary action that such trends and currents are not publicized, as this might cause a split in the revolutionary forces. In our view and through our previous experiences, such conscious and determined elements can form the revolutionary party which, with continuation of the struggle, can take over the reins of leadership and control the united national front. These conscious elements must devote themselves with patience and steadfastness, be long-dormant, avoiding haste and rashness; they must not stir up tradition-bound sentiments. These elements must work in silence, gaining the confidence of the masses with their steadfastness and sacrifice, in their capacity as a revolutionary model and example to be imitated.

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Once more we say that we offer arms and aid to Fatah. And we consider the Popular Front's line as the line of the future, so it is better that its leaders and cadres act carefully and win the confidence of the masses. In any case we will think seriously about your observations and we will study the revolutionary forces and organizations in the Palestinian arena. The proposal that we give the Popular Front special attention will be the focus of our attention and concern. We will not delay in strengthening and supporting the Palestinian struggle.

Special Session with the Deputy Foreign Minister II – 22 September 1968

The meeting was held after the reception which the Yemeni delegation gave in the hotel for the Chinese delegation.

The Deputy Foreign Minister thanked the delegation for all that it had presented and he gave assurances about the basic issue.

We support you without any doubt in your struggle against imperialism and in all circumstances and conditions. I believe that the people of the south cannot change their view of the Chinese people according to the abundance or paucity of aid. You accord an important place to financial aid, but it is not like this in our dealings with Asian and African states. Our aid to these states – among them Yemen, the UAR, and Mali – is a fundamental and unshakable principle even though we know that our aid to these states is small and limited.

With your arrival, we have devoted much thought to this matter and, frankly, we decided on this sum after thinking about the important status of your country and about your struggle and difficult economic circumstances. This is what we have decided to offer to you although we know that it is small and inadequate for your needs and not commensurate with the importance of your country.

We would like to say to you that you can take our aid and also request aid from the Soviet Union, for you must act with flexibility. What we know about their aid to other states is that it does not come without something in return: if there exists Soviet aid with no strings attached, then it is a very small amount indeed. In most cases, the Soviets lay down conditions that are not easy.

You can tell the Soviets that you have received aid from China

for 5,000 combatants. In our estimation, China's aid will create pressure on the Soviets. We never oppose that; indeed, we asked some friendly states not to hesitate in requesting aid from the Soviets.

We believe that when the Soviet Union occupied Czechoslovakia and you took a stance that refrained from censure you enabled yourselves to request aid and we believe that they will offer it to you.

We would like to say to you that, fundamentally, we cannot solve the problem of covering the deficit. If you are good at turning this aid to account you will be able to make up the difference. As friends of yours, we have read the decisions of the Fourth Congress of the National Front, and we noticed that if you were to apply the recommendations of your Congress on facing the deficit, you would be able to solve this problem. We feel that your decisions incorporate a wise and pragmatic position which will allow you to master the deficit and face your difficult economic problems.

Your expenditure in the past reached £33,000,000 and came down to £20,000,000. Thus, there is no alternative to measures of self-reliance. We can understand that your earnest request stems from your candour with us and confidence in us, and we speak frankly with you too. We have offered this aid after expending the greatest of efforts to increase the amount.

As for the projects, we leave them to consultations. We are dealing with you and co-operating with you for the first time, but we want our relations to grow and progress. You will see that our aid, even though limited, is the most we could have done in our present circumstances.

Perhaps you will find some diplomats in Peking asking you whether China has solved your financial problems. You might be asking yourselves why I am mentioning this to you. The answer is that we are not carrying out negotiations with you or making bargains or transactions; rather, we are launching brotherly consultations. We cannot say there is failure or success in the negotiations. But we are absolutely convinced that your visit has been a successful one. If we were not able to say that, then relations between us surely would not be good. If we offered you £20,000,000, would that make relations between us good? Our answer is 'no'. This is not the yardstick.

You talked to us frankly and we present our affairs likewise. We can consult on the real topics. As for re-examination, you will

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never find that here. As Comrade Ch'en Yi said, you establish projects one by one, but you must organize and study them. Extraction of water, for instance, requires scientific study and subterranean investigation by specialized technicians.

You presented the difficulty of the conditions in your country frankly. But with respect to your projects, we do not have such a clear picture. As the Deputy Premier said, China is not rich and it offers aid to thirty states, in particular to the people of Vietnam. Aid to North Yemen is not new; indeed, it began in 1958. We give to Yemen economic rather than financial aid.

In view of the difficulty of your situation we have agreed to offer part of the aid in monetary form to offset the fiscal deficit. But if we tried to solve your fiscal problem, in the long run that would add to your burden.

China's experience indicates that the only way to solve the problem of the deficit is first of all to increase possessions, secondly to develop production. In order to pick the fruit it is first necessary to grow the trees.

To develop production there is the issue of land, that is, how do you develop the effort of the peasants to increase production? If the peasants were to own the means of production, the land and the implements, they would have the enthusiasm to develop production.

There is also the spirit of thrift. Mao said that the state must be built by the spirit of thrift and diligence.

All unnecessary costs must be brought down and the number of administrators reduced; most important is a reduction of salaries. These measures must be applied with firmness and continuously. We have heard that your salaries are large, exceeding £100 a month. You can ask the Soviet Union to help you; they are the ones who sent the army to occupy Czechoslovakia. You can also ask Britain to recompense you for their exploitation of you throughout the decades that they ruled you and exploited your people and your country.

You must also confiscate the possessions of the princes and the sultans. They have riches which will benefit your projects.

Your cadres must work with the masses in order to mix with them and increase production. The same thing also applies to the army. Self-reliance demands the mobilization of the masses; without that it is impossible to increase production.

You must understand from the start that the problem of the

deficit will not be solved easily or by means of aid but through your work and the organization of your programmes.

There is another problem, which is that of how to arrange your construction projects. In our experience, these projects develop from non-existence to existence, and from small projects to large ones. At the outset of our country's liberation, we undertook to re-organize our economy and we did not set up many projects.

Mao teaches us that proper eating consists of taking the food bite by bite and that progressing along the road is done step by step. This is a law. For need is interlinked with capability; sufficient conditions must be fulfilled and there must be sufficient capabilities. To embark on these projects cannot be fruitful until the capabilities have been defined. The very pressing projects must be carried out. Any projects which cannot be carried to completion must be postponed.

You must follow the path of self-reliance. This is important. It requires the promotion of your agriculture. I think you are aware that the development of agricultural production is not an easy matter, but a very complex one. Your agriculture is in an under-developed state because you were under the rule of feudalism and imperialism.

Overcoming backwardness is not easy. You must have enough time and you must rely on the peasants to make it successful. In agriculture, man is the principal factor. However, there are natural conditions which help agricultural development. You will find many aspects of agricultural development which depend on mobilization of the masses.

From studying the proposed projects we find that some of them, such as construction of the long road, cannot be accomplished in a short period. As for the other projects, they will be studied by the experts.

On 23 September 1968 the Yemeni delegation met Chou En-Lai. His reception was gracious and friendly and his conversation with the Yemeni delegation was clear, frank and comprehensive. He placed emphasis on the stage of democratic national revolution and the importance of this stage. He spoke in some detail on the fact that China regards South Yemen and the Arab countries as part of one homeland, coming from one Arab community which colonialism and imperialism tore apart and partitioned. He spoke at length on Palestine, saying: 'It is a part of your nation which has been il-

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legally seized; its people are a part of the Arab nation who have been driven from their homeland; their lands have been illegally seized and settled by foreign colonialists brought by the various forces of imperialism which maintained and continue to maintain their protectorate in order to weaken your one Arab nation.'

Chou En-Lai stressed the importance of reconstruction, describing it as an onerous and difficult stage, the success of which requires:

1. Destruction of the old ideas and customs.
2. The building up of cadres who are competent, capable, unyielding and ready for sacrifice.
3. Drawing up construction projects that are both practical and sound, and specifying the means by which they will be implemented.
4. Bearing national responsibilities toward your country, South Yemen, and towards the Arab countries, remembering that you are a small part of a large and great whole which is your Arab nation, which your enemies have fragmented into small and weak statelets.

Chou En-Lai pointed out the global and human responsibilities which China bears. He spoke on the Mongolia question. Then he mentioned briefly that India had foreign loans estimated at nearly ten billion dollars, debts which will restrict and confine India's movement and its independence.

The Yemeni delegation left China to return to its own country on 24 September 1968.

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